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ABSTRACT

This research provides a detailed analysis of the inner workings of a bilingual program implemented in San Diego, California. The children in the study divide their school day between two separate classrooms, one offering instruction in Spanish and the other in English. The same students were videotaped as they participated in reading lessons in both languages. The goal of the analysis was to specify the variations in the communicative activities that constitute the reading lessons, and to pinpoint lesson features that helped or hindered the development of second language skills. Results show that teachers often structure lessons in ways that interfere with their curricular objectives. The analysis of lessons across language and ability groupings indicates that: (1) the manifestation and complexity of reading behaviors in the two classrooms are determined by the types of interactional activities, called "participation structures," in which students and teacher engage; and (2) these participation structures are influenced by organizational constraints and by presuppositions about the children's competence. It was found that the extent to which reading behaviors in Spanish transfer to or can be manifested in English depends on similarities in the organization of the participation structures found in the two classrooms. (Author/AMH)

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FINAL REPORT

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An Ethnography of a Bilingual Classroom

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Introduction

For the past two years we have been conducting a detailed analysis of precisely what goes on in a bilingual curriculum implemented in San Diego, California. In this program, the children divide their schoolday between classrooms that offer separate instruction in Spanish and English. Therefore, we could observe the same students in both instructional settings where bilingual education is supposed to render its effects.

The problems of Latino children in schools (see, for e.g., Carter & Segura, 1979) strongly suggest that traditional English monolingual classrooms lack the structural arrangements, curriculum and teacher-student interactions necessary to promote effective learning, hence the need for bilingual programs. However, such programs have not brought about as much improvement as hoped for, leading the general public and researchers alike to inquire about the composition of bilingual classroom interactions and how they can be structured to promote learning.

In the light of this uncertainty, Cummins (1979), among others, has suggested that research should be directed toward identifying those conditions under which bilingual learning experiences are likely to retard or accelerate aspects of cognitive growth. The need for a contextually based analysis of classrooms is particularly critical in relation to Latino children in the United States. Based on his extensive review of social science research in bilingual education, Fishman (1977) has reported that research into the dynamics of bilingual classrooms is practically non-existent. In fact, as reported by NIE (Weinberg, 1977), this lack of studies is the general state of affairs and clearly extends beyond bilingual education or bilingual classroom studies. The NIE report concluded that "comparatively little research has inquired into the education of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican children" (p. 300).

Investigations that have been conducted of bilingual programs have often been plagued by numerous methodological problems that limit their validity and usefulness (Paulston, 1977). Part of the problem stems from the use of research models that treat the bilingual education program as an independent variable and compare its academic outcomes with those of other alternative or "regular" school programs (Cummins, 1977). Some factors like social class, age, ethnicity are treated as input or independent variables. Other factors such as pupil achievement, bilingual development and attitudes are treated as output variables. These input-output models usually rely heavily on problematic standardized norm-referenced tests (see Cervantes, 1974; National Elementary Principal, 1975) as measures of effectiveness and fail to consider classroom behaviors which intervene between program input and academic outcome.

Mehan (1978) has pointed out that there is a certain methodological irony in the work of researchers who use such models to examine the influence on schools on students. Although "schooling" is the variable that links input and output factors, the school itself is rarely examined directly. The school is, in effect, a "black box" between input and output factors.

A good example of such an input-output approach is a recent major study (American Institute for Research, 1977) of the impact of the Title VII bilingual programs. This study aggregated data from several sites, which included a variety of instructional approaches, different levels of implementation, and students whose language ability varied, to reach conclusions about the effectiveness or, in this case, the ineffectiveness of bilingual education. The study was criticized for not advancing our understanding of how bilingual education affects children and for not showing which educational interventions will optimally promote which desired cognitive and other outcomes (See Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977; Intercultural Development Research Association, 1977). What is lacking in these studies of bilingual education is evidence based on the actual process of schooling: What goes on in the classrooms? If we are to understand how so-called input factors like ethnicity, bilingualism, or limited-English proficiency influence educational outcomes, then their influence needs to be assessed or studied in actual educational environments. This task is especially urgent at present given the very mixed results of existing bilingual programs and the public concern they have generated.

The research reported here attempts to break away from summary measures of classroom performance and is designed to see, if possible, how curriculum and instruction is organized in a bilingual program. We videotaped classroom lessons in a school that seemed to provide an excellent case study of children's experiences in such a program. Two competent teachers were selected in order to observe and compare their implementation of lessons. The focus of our attention was the development of reading skills. We sought to specify the variations in the communicative activities that constitute the reading lessons, and to pinpoint sources of interference in the development of second language skills. It should be emphasized that the differences between classrooms that we report and interpret are not the result of differences in the teachers' abilities as professionals; they are the result of variations in the social organization of the lessons given the constraints they face. The findings show that despite their best efforts, teachers often structure lessons in ways that seriously interfere with their curricular objectives.

The rest of this document is organized into several sections. In the first section, we present our theoretical position and discuss how this position influenced the focus and method of study. This section is followed by a discussion of the research procedures, which includes a description of the research setting and classrooms where the study was conducted. After this, the results of the study are presented and the report concludes with a discussion of the implications of the data, including suggestions of specific classroom practices that could improve the education of the bilingual child and increase the teacher's ability to deal with a complex teaching environment.

Theoretical Position

Our study was influenced by two seemingly different theoretical approaches that we view as complementary because they are both based on the study of learning as interaction. The first is the microethnographic approach to the study of schooling. The second is the socio-historical approach to the study of learning and development. Each approach provides us with a way to study systematically the organization of learning sessions, identify areas of difficulty and suggest interventions for beneficial change.

Microethnography. On the one hand, our study relied on research techniques employed in microethnographic studies (e.g., Mehan, 1979; McDermott, 1976, 1977; Erickson and Shultz, 1977; Griffin and Shuy, 1978; Cole, Griffin and Newman, 1979). These studies are similar to traditional or general ethnographies in that both are ways to study in detail people's actions and the concrete circumstances under which these actions occur (c.f., Erickson and Mohatt, 1980). These two methods of study differ, however, in the nature and the scope of work, as well as on the level of specificity of the descriptions and accounts generated. Traditional ethnographies are relatively holistic and general, as when there is an attempt to describe the whole way of life of a tribe, community or society. In contrast, microethnographies usually focus on particular and specific behavioral interactions in specific institutional settings. Accordingly, traditional ethnographies generally involve extended fieldwork and the use of native informants and participant observers to provide general and full descriptions of events. Microethnographies, on the use of the other hand, usually rely on videotapes supplemented by participant observations to provide detailed descriptions of the behavioral interactions of individuals in specific contexts.

A basic premise of all microethnographic studies is that social events such as classroom lessons are interactional accomplishments. Consequently, a primary goal of such studies is to characterize the structures of lessons or other important educational events by describing the interactional work of the participants that assemble these structures. So, for example, Mehan (1973) has described the social interactions that comprise a so-called "standardized" testing situation and Erickson (1975) has detailed the difference in counselor-student interactions when students are from cultural and socio-economic backgrounds that are either similar or different from those of the counselors. In addition to showing how these social events are interactionally created, these two studies also suggest that the consequences (e.g., an IQ score or a career path) resulting for the interactions within these settings are not trivial matters, since they may make a profound difference in the lives of the students.

The classroom work has also been concerned with how participants organize events like formal lessons and with the implications that these processes have for the students. Mehan (1979) presents a detailed and formalized analysis of nine lessons in which he clearly depicts the classroom as an integrated interactional system. His analysis reveals an orderly and hierarchically structured organization of behaviors that control the interactions, tasks, and language production of the students. He describes lessons as a series of Initiation-Reply-Evaluation sequences between teachers and students. That is, an act initiated by one classroom participant, usually the teacher, is followed by a reply, usually by the student, which in turn is most often followed by a teacher evaluation of the reply. These ordered set of moves occur with great regularity and contain the primary mechanisms that constitute the formal lesson or learning environments in which children are asked to develop skills. To be competent respondents in classroom lessons, students must be able to identify the instructional function implied from the often implicit forms of the teacher's speech acts, and provide appropriate replies (see Mehan, 1979). But while the type of interactional structures described by Mehan may be found to constitute most classroom lessons, variations in the organization of the ways of communicating may produce differential learning conditions for the students.

Philips (1972), in her study of the cultural organization of social relationships in the Warm Springs Indian reservation in central Oregon, identified and described the different ways that adults and children have of organizing verbal interactions in social situations in the classrooms and in the community. She contrasted these two environments and found important differences in the "participant structures" or ways of interacting found in each setting. The key difference involved the role of the adult in the interactions. Briefly put, at school, during the implementation of the curriculum, the adult usually controlled all communicative activity by questioning, allocating turns, deciding who should talk and when, and so on. In such situations, the Native American students usually failed to answer, or were simply silent much more often than their white classroom peers.

Outside the classroom, however, in every day situations in the reservation, Philips noted several differences in how verbal participation was organized. In particular she noted that participation structures typical of classroom lessons in which one person controls most of the communicative activity of the other people in the group did not occur. Further, and of importance for the present study, her comparisons showed that the participation structures that define when and how a person uses speech in the every day social situations were present in classroom situations in which the students used speech a great deal, and absent in classroom situations in which the children failed to participate verbally. This is an important point because, as Philips notes, in classrooms speaking or verbal interaction is the first and primary mode for acquiring and communicating competency in all of the areas of skill and knowledge that schools purport to teach.

Building on the findings and interpretations of Philips, Erickson and his associates (e.g., Shultz, Florio and Erickson, 1980) have conducted a number of classroom studies. In one such effort, Erickson and Mohatt (1980) examined the cultural organization of social relationships in two classrooms of Native American children who were taught by a Native American and non-Native American teacher respectively. They report qualitative differences in the organization of verbal participation between classrooms and, in particular, differences in the role of the adult in directing and controlling how verbal interaction is organized. For example, the non-Native American teacher consistently and frequently directed questions to individual children and praised or reprimanded the behavior of individual students publicly. In contrast, the Native American teacher almost always avoided directly questioning individual students and almost never commented evaluatively on the students' behavior in public.

These and other studies suggest that differences or variations in the social organization of lessons may have important academic consequences for the students. McDermott (1976,1977) addresses this issue directly in his microethnographic study of the organization of reading lessons in a first grade classroom. He argues that the children who enter school lacking reading skills are quickly identified by the teacher as pedagogical and organizational problems because they need more of the teacher's time and effort to progress. Given the constraints on the teacher, such as pressures to sort children into different ability groups, the teacher makes adaptations in the focus of instruction that result in these children receiving only one third as much time on reading activities than children who are better readers. These children end up receiving little practice on those activities they need the most to develop advanced reading skills.

A study by Au (1979) based on similar assumptions about the social organization of instruction presents the other side of the coin, so to speak. She examined how young Hawaiian students with a history of low achievement in reading are successfully taught to read. Briefly put, she documented how the teachers implemented contexts for reading in the classroom that resembled a "talk story", a form of collaborative narrative that is a special speech event in the children's culture, in order to teach specific reading skills. This reorganization of the ways children participate in the lessons not only made the lessons more relevant for the children, but shifted the focus of instruction from phonics to reading comprehension; a shift in context and content that seems to account for the improved reading performances.

Among the characteristics of the microethnographic approach there are two interrelated features that make it particularly relevant and useful for the study of bilingual classrooms. One is the emphasis on the functions of language. Second is the attention paid to context (Mehan, 1979b).

Probably more than any of the other instructional areas, a bilingual curriculum focuses attention on the development of language proficiency. The emphasis, however, has been on a general or global language proficiency as usually assessed by standardized tests. Because it is treated as a self-contained, scorable ability, language proficiency is commonly analyzed independent of its role or function in specific academic or lesson domains (c.f., Griffin and Shuy, 1978). Within the present approach, we want to be able to describe the communicative activities that make up lesson environments of which language is a part, rather than deal with language as an abstract formal system.

The second characteristic of the microethnographic approach that we found significant was the emphasis on context as a major determinant of human behavior. An important analytic task is to "place" or "integrate" the participant's interactional activities as part of the particular context of occurrence. Context is not limited to the physical location or the characteristics of the participants, although these are clearly influential. Context is an interactional notion; it is constituted by what the participants are doing, which is only partly conditioned by where and when they are doing it (Erickson and Shultz, 1977). This interactional concept of context is particularly important for the study of classrooms that may include students and teachers from different ethnic groups and who speak two languages with various degrees of fluency. In such dynamic settings interactional contexts may shift rapidly from one moment to the next; the research strategy must try to account for these changes.

Although we focus our analysis on the communication systems set up by the teacher in order to implement the curriculum lessons, unlike the so-called "process-product" approach, we do not limit ourselves to the effects of the teacher on the student. We also take into account that whatever the student does influences the teacher and that they are both largely influenced by, and in turn construct, the context in which their interaction takes place (c.f., Watzlavick, Beavin, and Jackson, 1967).

The Socio-historical Approach. We also rely on the theoretical and empirical notions developed by the Soviet investigators of the socio-historical school (e.g.,Vygotsky, 1978), and on the work of our colleagues at the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition (in press) regarding the relationship between culturally organized experiences and learning. We found these ideas particularly relevant to the study of classroom interactions because they emphasize how interactions between people become the principal mechanism by which learning and development occurs (See also Wertsch, 1979).

There are several methodological practices central to the socio-historical school that have major consequences for the analysis of educational processes or classroom interactions. At the heart of this approach is the analysis of learning, as a distinct form of culturally organized activity. This approach requires the study of the actual process of interaction between an individual and his environment not just a measure of the products of interactions. In most cases, particularly in classrooms, these interactions consist of communications between people for the specific purpose of problem solving. In addition, the activity we call learning or problem solving always involves many partial goals, the achievement of which requires joint activity by teacher and students. Each of these goals, in turn, are reached by performing some act (Leont'ev, 1973; Talyzina, 1978). Hence, in the study of any learning activity, the unit of analysis becomes the act or system of acts by which learning is composed. Consequently, a critical task in the analysis of classroom behaviors becomes the careful and detailed description of the learning activity (e.g., a reading lesson) and its constituent sequence of acts. These acts are jointly produced or collaboratively assembled by the teacher and students. Such sequences include the initiation of questioning by the teacher and the complementary answering of questions by the students, the distribution and use of educational materials; that is, any and all jointly assembled communicative and educative interactions between teacher and students (see Markova, 1978-79). In the present study, as discussed earlier, microethnographic techniques will be used to identify and help us to describe in great detail the reading activities and their constituent acts.

Another key principle of the socio-historical school is that a strong connection exists between mental activity and external, practical activity; most psychological functioning grows out of social interactions in the service of practical activity. Vygotsky (1978), who advanced this notion, held that the intellectual skills that children acquire are directly related to how they interact with adults and peers in specific problem solving environments. He argued that children internalize the kind of help they receive from others and eventually come to use the means of guidance initially provided by others to direct their own subsequent problem solving behaviors. That is, children first perform the appropriate behaviors to complete a task under someone else's guidance and direction (e.g., the teacher), before they can complete the task competently and independent of outside direction or help. To say that a child is working independently of his environment is equivalent to saying that the child is carrying on an interaction "in his head."

As can be seen, an explicit and direct connection is made between communications between people and individual psychological processes. The path by which activities are moved from the level of social experience to that of individual experience (see Vygotsky, 1978), consists of a series of transformations. These transformations are the result of a number of developmental events. These events occur in learning situations which Vygotsky called the "zone of proximal development".

Vygotsky defined the "zone of proximal development" as:

> ...the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (1978, p. 86).

In its application to the study of formal learning environments such as classroom lessons, the students entering skills as perceived by the teacher are the major determinant of the starting point of the zone. The kinds of skills that teachers want the child to master define the farther end point of the zone. The activities that the teacher uses to organize the child to move from the initial, aided level to the final, independent level are the focus of our attention.

Two further aspects of the zone of proximal development that have important implications for the study of classrooms should be mentioned. The first is the relation between learning and development. Vygotsky (1978) did not see the acquisition and the use of knowledge (learning) and intellectual development as different processes separated in time, but as part of a single unified process in which learning is transformed into development. Thus, implicit in the zone of proximal development is the notion that learning must precede development. Good teaching, then, is that which provides students with learning experiences which are in advance of development, thus guiding and creating its future.

An additional point is that instruction exercises its leading role through the content of the knowledge to be acquired (Talyzina, 1978). Consequently, the content of instruction should be designed not for the given level of development and, obviously, not for a lower level; instructions should be prospective, it should create a zone of proximal development. Otherwise, instruction trails behind development rather than coax or drag it along, and it becomes ineffective. Nor can instruction run too far ahead, or chaos will result (Siegler & Richards, 1980).

Talyzina (1978) also reminds us that the content of instruction does not produce its developmental effect directly; the effects are mediated through the vehicle of teacher and student communicative activities. Hence, the development of communication activities appropriate to both the content of instruction and to the developmental level of the student gives instruction its developmental effect. This is a highly complex relationship, since each school subject has its own specific relationship to the child's level of development (Vygotsky, 1978). The relationship varies as the child goes from one level of achievement to another, and in the case of bilingual instruction, from one linguistic context to another.

An understanding of thinking as transformed, external, material activity requires that any new form of cognitive activity be introduced into the learning process in an external form as concrete material activity (Talyzina, 1978). The use of this socio-historical/interactional approach to the study of the development of children's skills in the bilingual classroom influences our observations in at least three important ways. As Dowley (1979) has pointed out, (1) one does not look for the origins of intellectual skills inside the child; instead, one looks at the child-adult interactional system as the source of help that produces change. To this we would add that (2) these interactions have to be studied in relation to the content and the objectives of the specific lessons, since it is the relationship between interactions, content, and the child's actual developmental level that creates effective zones of proximal development. Finally, (3) one looks for evidence of how this help is providing the foundations of later self-direction or regulation (learning).

Research Procedures

The setting. In planning our study a special school climate was sought where cooperating teachers could be counted on to provide vital input throughout the project. It was also important for our purposes to select a school with a history of commitment to bilingual education--in this case some 14 years in which alternative forms of instruction have been made available to non-native English speakers. Preliminary conversations with the principal and other personnel indicated that this setting fulfilled these criteria.

The school selected is an elementary school in south San Diego, bordering Mexico, and the school serves an area that is economically depressed; most parents are blue collar workers and families are notably larger than the national average. The area served by the school district is also ethnically diverse. According to the 1975 Special Census figures, of 16,954 respondents: 70.9 per cent are White; 18.1, Latino; 7.3, Filipino; 1.6, Black; with the balance represented by small numbers of Native Americans, Japanese, Chinese and other Asians. The school itself has a diverse population of students, with many who were born in Mexico or are children of parents who were, and whose first language is Spanish. A few represent families who as units or in part return eventually or periodically to Mexico to live, but most represent intact or single parent families who have made the United States their home.

In addition to native Spanish speakers, who represent over 50 per cent of the school's enrollment, the remaining enrollment includes native English speakers, Filipinos, whose first language is Tagalog, and a small number of Blacks. The faculty is made up of approximately equal numbers of native Spanish and native English speakers; the site administrator is a fluent bilingual

The target classrooms. Our study was conducted in two combined 2nd and 3rd grade classrooms. These classrooms are part of a "maintenance" program aimed at promoting academic development in two languages (for details regarding the instructional model, see Appendix A). Two "sister" classrooms were involved in the study--one with a Spanish (L1) curriculum and one in English (L2). During the course of the day the children received instruction in basic skill areas (e.g., math and reading) in their native language. The children also went to the other classroom for oral language and reading lessons in their second language. Native Spanish and English speakers were mixed for such activities as art, music, and recess, but otherwise "parallel" instruction was conducted in separate languages in the separate classrooms. Although participation is voluntary for both language groups, only those native Spanish speaking children who were judged sufficiently fluent in English to take part actively in lessons were enrolled in this dual arrangement. This instructional arrangement was ideal for our project because it gave us the unique opportunity to observe how the same native Spanish speakers participate in reading lessons in two distinctive language and instructional settings.

The participants. After several days of preliminary observations and consultations with the classroom teachers and aides, we videotaped children that formed part of the reading groups. The children, all third graders, came from Spanish-dominant homes and represented varying levels of English speaking ability. In each classroom the children were divided into teacher-defined ability groups. In the Spanish classroom lessons a total of 14 children were divided into three ability groups. The low group consisted of three children, the middle group of five children and the high group included six children. The English classroom lessons included a total of 26 children divided into four reading groups. What we called the "low" group in this classroom actually consisted of the two bottom groups. For the purposes of the analysis, we treated these two groups as one since their lesson activities were the same and their separation was only for logistical purposes. A total of 14 children were included in these two low groups, the middle group had eight children in it and the high group was made up of four children. The Oral Language Program lessons consisted of the same groupings. We focused special attention on 12 target children who appear regularly in the videotaped lessons in both classrooms. Three of the children were predominantly Spanish speaking and, according to our observations, the rest of the children functioned with ease in both languages. This narrow focus made it possible to collect data on the same children in several related classroom contexts and in both languages.

The criteria each teacher employed in determining the composition of the reading groups varied. The Spanish teacher grouped the children largely on the basis of conversations with the children and by having them read to her. The English teacher relied more on previous teachers' reports and recommendations. Interestingly, neither teacher paid much attention, if any, to language dominance test scores.

The Spanish teacher was a female, Mexican-American and a fluent bilingual. Her instructional aide was a female, monolingual Spanish speaker from Mexico. The English teacher was a male, Anglo, English-monolingual speaker. His instructional aide was female, Mexican-American and English-dominant. In keeping with the instructional model, the English teacher spoke to the children only in English; his aide, almost exclusively in English. The Spanish teacher spoke exclusively Spanish, as did her aide.

Design of our observations. Our primary research strategy required us to contrast the different contexts of instruction in order to specify important communicative activities as they interact with the characteristics of the participants. Consequently, after careful study of the classroom arrangements, and after several meetings with the teaching staff in which the research goals and strategies were discussed, we built several explicit comparisons into the design of our observations.

First, we focused our observations on the high, middle and low ability groups as pre-designated by the teachers. This focus made it possible to collect retrievable, behavioral data on successful readers, as well as those children experiencing difficulty.

Second, we taped the three different ability groups as they participated in their daily reading lessons in Spanish and English. Additionally, it was also decided to videotape the children participating in oral language activities in English since these lessons are a key element of this instructional model.

Thirdly, we also taped lessons in both classrooms at two different times, in March and June 1979. 1 This replication allowed us to study changes in the organization of lessons and the children's acquisition of content over the period of one semester.

Videotaping procedures. An initial corpus of data was collected during a span of five consecutive days in March and a second corpus was collected in June, again over five consecutive days. The goal in each case was to videotape the children at least twice in each of the reading and oral language sessions. In most cases we succeeded in this goal with some exceptions owing to absences or participation in pullout programs of one kind or another. Each week of taping produced almost ten hours of tape for a total of approximately 20 hours. In most cases each target child that was taped in both settings appears in from twelve to sixteen lessons.

An upper division Communications student at UCSD was hired to provide the technical assistance necessary in videotaping. His familiarity with the equipment and knowledge of microphone placements and camera positioning greatly facilitated the collection of tapes of the highest

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1. The school is on a year round schedule in which classes are still in session in June.

possible quality. Naturally, the daily schedule of events and physical layout of the classrooms influenced our camera and microphone placements (see Appendix A). Stationary microphones were placed in front of the reading groups and on the tables where other reading or oral language activities were to take place. In addition, the teaching staff was outfitted with wireless radio microphones. This arrangement provided flexibility in switching microphones on and off as the instructional activities moved from one part of the room to the other.

The use of videotaping always creates a concern over possible reactivity to the presence of outsiders and strange equipment. In order to reduce reactivity, two members of the research team made three visits to the classrooms to introduce the participants to the equipment and to the taping procedures. During the first visit, teachers and students were taped in an informal manner and given the opportunity to view themselves on the monitor. For the second visit, all were asked to ignore the equipment and engage in their regular classroom activities as they were being taped. By the third visit it became apparent that the participants were accustomed to our presence and to the equipment; little, if any, classroom disruption was evident or reported by the teachers.

This impression was confirmed during the two data collection periods. The participants in both classrooms reacted minimally to our presence. Throughout each period, any questions related to our presence or to videotaping procedures were responded to forthrightly and deviations from schedule or in participants' behavior were minor. Efforts were made, however, to perform the more potentially disruptive tasks of setting up and testing the equipment before school or during lunch periods. In subsequent interviews and viewing sessions with the teachers, they expressed surprise that the children took so little notice of our presence or of the equipment.

Another important concern was whether the events taped were representative of what occurred throughout the school year in these settings with these participants. This concern was alleviated in several ways. First, the preliminary observations helped us to know what routinely went on in the classroom. What we saw during these observations and what we documented on videotape were, at least superficially, comparable events. Secondly, in subsequent interviews and viewing sessions with the teachers we were assured that the events taped were representative of the reading and oral language lessons per se. Finally, whereas the Spanish model teacher noted that frequently more spontaneous interactions occurred in other Spanish lessons (e.g., social studies), both teachers agreed that since there was no comparable English exposure for the same children, the lessons taped were best for comparison purposes.

Teacher Interviews. As mentioned earlier, we sought a school setting were we could obtain active teacher participation in the conduct of the study. This teacher involvement went beyond their consent to be videotaped and studied, and included an expanded role as paid consultants or collaborators. The primary goal was to ensure adequate teacher input during the implementation of the project and during the analysis and interpretation of the information collected. This collaboration was accomplished in the following manner:

1. Planning meetings with the teachers were scheduled. The major thrust during these initial meetings was to explain the purpose of the study and discuss their role as participants. In particular, we wanted to explain our interest in exploring the role of communicative activities in determining how and what children learn. We also discussed the comparative nature of the study design and how we intended to organize data collection. The teachers were asked to specify what classroom activities they, as practitioners, regarded as the most relevant or important for study, taking into consideration our interests in contrasting lessons or events across classrooms. The teachers suggested we observe the reading lessons because they are pedagogically important events and represented an excellent opportunity to observe the same children in both classrooms engaging in similar curricular activities. After discussion, it was decided that the reading lessons would become the focus of study.

   We also interviewed the teachers regarding the placement of children into the ability groups and how these placements are determined. In addition, information was also gathered on the details of the instructional model as implemented, as well as suggestions about where to place the videotape equipment in the classroom in locations that would minimize disruption. Also discussed were practical constraints, such as the teachers' schedules, any further demands or commitments they had, and the time they could realistically devote to the project. Finally, teacher consent forms were written that described their role as collaborators, how much they were to be remunerated and specified their right to request not to tape any particular event or to erase any scene they desired. No such request was ever made during the study.

2. Once a series of lessons were videotaped, viewing sessions were scheduled at one of the teacher's homes. The goal of these sessions was to ascertain the representativeness of the lessons taped, discuss any observable disruption in the class routine owing to the presence of outsiders and videotape equipment, and generate initial impressions of the lessons taped before any specific hypothesis were developed or issues raised. The format these initial viewing sessions took was that the teachers were allowed to view and stop the tape at any time to comment on any aspects of the interactions. These comments were audiotaped and field notes were taken. It should be emphasized that these were not structured interviews but a chance for the teachers to express their feelings and opinions on what they were observing.

3. As with any study that uses ethnographic procedures, we wanted to obtain the "insiders" perspective or point-of-view about the events observed. Our aim was to ensure that our descriptions and interpretations of the classroom events seriously took into account the factors or social constraints that helped organize the teachers' behaviors. Such a goal motivated us to study what the teachers believed was important in any particular instance. Consequently, later viewing sessions followed a more structured research agenda. During these sessions teachers were shown pre-selected segments and

asked specific questions about the ongoing interactions. The questions had been generated during the in-depth analysis of the videotapes. So, for example, issues explored included reasons for choosing a particular focus of instruction, perceptions of the children's competence, the coordination of lessons within and across classrooms, the use of aides and materials, and teacher training.

Data Management. The organization of data begins as soon as the first events are taped or the first interviews completed. Activities such as the numbering, labelling and dating of tapes, indexing the data by language and ability group, and recording the content of the lessons were initiated immediately. As data collection progressed all tapes were similarly labelled for easy reference.

Because of our interest in contrasting lessons across ability groups and language, we copied the original tapes onto a blank cassette (this was also done to protect the original from damage) and edited the copy sequentially according to ability group. For example, all of the "High Group" reading lessons in English were copied onto one tape by their order of occurrence. This procedure made it much easier to study all of the events related to one group without first having to search through several tapes. During this editing a digital timer was superimposed on the screen. The use of the timer gave us an exact temporal count of the duration of the tape and greatly facilitated quick retrieval of specific events for coding or transcription.

The corpus of data. The corpus of data selected for analysis consists of reading lessons implemented in the Spanish and English classrooms with the low, middle and high ability groups. In line with other investigators (e.g., Griffin and Shuy, 1978) we found definite advantages in focusing on formal lessons for analysis. Formal lessons have clearcut boundaries, in that they usually take place in a particular location in the classroom and have a clear beginning and end. They are also more audible than other classroom events, occur with predictable regularity, and are relatively easy to videotape or film. Another advantage is that they are relatively brief, allowing taping of different groups in comparable situations (e.g., reading lessons) engaging in similar tasks (e.g., decoding of a text). A general description of the lessons in the corpus follows.

Spanish reading lessons:

1. _Reading at the Table_ - The children in each ability group are assigned specific reading tasks. The teacher moves from one group to another listening to the students read, correcting mistakes, asking and answering questions, and giving instructions for future work. The teacher or aide may be in charge of these lessons.
2. _Individual Reading_ - The teacher or aide reads individually with a student who needs special help or is at a different level. This may take place at the student's regular seat or in an area of the classroom away from the rest of the children. The teacher always seats with the student or in close contact.
3. _Rug Work_ - Occasionally one of the groups is moved away from the tables to a separate rug area. This usually involves the children reading essays or book reports they have written.

English Reading Lessons:

1. Reading Groups - The children are called by ability group to the front of the class where chairs have been arranged facing the blackboard. The lessons usually involve reading aloud from workbooks and, word and sound recognition tasks. Once a group of children complete their reading lessons for the day, they are assigned to do other tasks at their seats and another group is called. The teacher is in charge of this activity and its systematic scheduling. Three to four groups participate daily for approximately twenty minutes each.
2. Oral Language Program - Children are called by ability groups to a table located on one side of the room. Oral language activities consist of pronunciation drills, sentence formation drills and, some language games and activities. The aide is in charge of these lessons. She tries to see the top group at least twice a week, the middle group three times, and the two lower groups daily for fifteen minutes.

Analysis

A primary goal of the data analysis is to describe the organization of specific learning environments. As mentioned, our basic analytic strategy involves the contrasts of different contexts of instruction in order to specify important communicative activities as they interact with the participant-characteristics in their first and second language settings. After preliminary viewing of the tapes it became clear that in order to contrasts various "contexts of instruction" as planned, thorough and detailed descriptions of the various lessons were necessary. These descriptions involved a series of analytic activities discussed below.

Task analysis. We began our analysis by segmenting the taped lessons into sequential units (c.f., Erickson and Shultz, 1977; Mehan, 1979). This segmenting allowed us to establish the different tasks that make up lessons for each ability group within each language setting. The segmentation involves determining when a given task begins and ends based on observables which, when taken together signal junctures (Erickson and Shultz, 1977). These observables are apparent in the teacher's and student's behaviors and include the following: verbal directions (e.g., the teacher tells the students what to do or expect next), the use of educational materials (e.g., a book or other visual aid is utilized), voice intonation (e.g., raised or lowered voice to signal a shift), and body orientation (e.g., leaning into or out of the group to signal the shift). Table 1 displays our initial segmentation of part of an oral language lesson as an example.

Insert Table 1 about here

It should be noted that for each task that makes up the lesson we also identify interactional tactics used by the participants to exchange information, allocate turns, and evaluate responses. These sequential descriptions, repeated for each lesson in the corpus, may be found in Appendix B.

Along with a description of tasks for each lesson we specified the different communicative activities used by the teachers to teach the content of the lessons. These communicative activities are discussed in terms of their participation structures (Philips, 1972). One such description from an Oral Language Program lessons will serve as an example (see Table 2). We specified how the tasks were organized to permit different types of student participation. This included whether it is a group or individual task, what the individual or the group is required to do, how much time is spent on each task, as well as time spent getting organized to do the task and the amount of interruptions that occur.

Insert Table 2 About Here

At this point we started to transcribe selected lesson segments or entire lessons as needed. The transcriptions primarily involved recording verbatum in Spanish or English the teacher and student exchanges. Transcribing convention were adapted from Griffin and Shuy (1978) and Mehan (1979).

Communication analysis. We also sought to describe the communicative forms that make up the participation structures in a given instructional sequence. Communicative forms are defined in terms of types of talk that teachers and students engaged in. For teacher talk we borrowed from Mehan's (1979) microethnographic analysis of classroom interactions and looked at the number of directives, informatives and elicitations present in each of the lessons or lesson phases. Directives engage participants in the giving and receiving of procedural and preparatory instructions; informatives present information to participants, mostly formulating what is to happen and what has happened in lessons; elicitations engage participants in the exchange of academic information about factual matters, opinions, interpretations, or the grounds for their reasoning.

An in-depth analysis of those portions of lessons in which the primary activity was the exchange of academic information through elicitations was also conducted. Four types of elicitations were designated (c.f.,Brophy and Good, 1974; Mehan, 1979) and the frequency with which each occurred was documented across ability levels, language settings, and time. The four levels of questions were as follows:

1. Choice - these questions call upon the student to agree or disagree with a statement provided by the teacher that contains the information the student needs in order to form the reply.
2. Product - these questions require the student to provide a factual response such as names, dates, or colors.
3. Process - these questions ask for a student's opinions or interpretations.
4. Metaprocess - these questions asks the students to be reflective about the process of making connections between questions and responses. The students have to formulate the grounds of their reasoning or provide the rule or procedures by which they have arrived at or

remembered answers.

The frequency with which student responses were appropriate and correct with respect to the level of question was also documented.

We also analyzed how feedback was given to the students regarding the acceptability of their responses. We noted the teacher's corrections and evaluations, both in terms of what was selected for correction or evaluation, as well as their relative frequency of occurrence.

Further, a distinction was made between corrections and evaluations. Teacher corrections followed closely in time the errors to which they were a response, such as corrections of pronunciation mistakes while decoding. Evaluations involved judgements by the teacher of student performance or assessment of the student's understanding of the content of the lesson. The pattern of corrections and evaluations across levels and across setting was noted.

An additional and final variable we examined was how the teacher used corrections and evaluations to help the children accomplish the goal of the lessons, i.e., the development of reading skills. The documentation of the communicative forms and functions provided us with a reasonable description of the processes that comprise instruction.

Results

An Overview of the Results

A central feature of our results is a description of how the teacher mediates between the curriculum (materials and goals), and the children. The teacher regulates the level of difficulty of the lessons by modifying, changing and adjusting task demands on the basis of the behavior of different groups and individual children. This regulation of difficulty is usually accomplished by changing the communicative requirements of the lesson. These adjustments are clearly influenced by the participants characteristics, in particular the children's ability to communicate in the form the teacher considers appropriate and relevant to the given lesson context.

Throughout the lessons there are examples of the teacher simplifying or increasing the level of difficulty by adjusting the ways students are required to participate in the lesson's tasks. The following is one such example. The children are playing a common card game called "fish" as part of an oral language development lesson conducted by the teacher's aide in English.

1. Teacher (T): It's your turn, Angelica.
2. Angelica (A): Eva, do you have a star fish?
3. Other child: When is it going to be my turn again?
4. T: (Eva starts to give Angelica two cards) No. Only give her one of them. It is still Angelica's turn.
5. A: Pedro, do you have...(pause) uhmmm... esa que tiene una cosa como de palo. (The one that has something like a stick).
6. T: Okay, ten times (punishment for speaking in Spanish during an English lesson).

2

7. A: I don't know that in English.

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2. This practice of punishing the use of Spanish has been discontinued.

8. T: Well, show me the card and I'll tell you, okay.

9. A: Okay.

10. T: Sawfish.

11. A: Sawfish.

12. Other: Ya, sawfish (giving the card to Angelica).

13. A: Thank you. Okay...(pause)...Beto...(Angelica goes over to the teacher to get help with naming the card).

14. Other: She peeked at my cards.

15. T: Tuna.

16. A: Tuna

17. Other: She peeked!

18. T: If you can't play right, then you are not going to play and you are going to go sit down.

19. A: Beto, do you have Tuna?

20. Beto: I just gave it to you.

21. T: He just gave it to you.

22. A: Okay, Alberto, you have...(pause) teacher (Angelica again gets up from her seat to request help from the teacher).

23. T: Whale.

24. A: Whale.

The example shows how the task environment is modified within the same lesson as the teacher mediates the communicative demands placed on Angelica (see line 8). This particular modification turns out not to be just a temporary aid, but sets up a pattern that Angelica follows for the rest of the game (lines, 13, 15, 22, 23, 24). So, for the rest of the group this is a language activity in which the children have to construct messages for the purpose of communication, but for Angelica it is a lower order task similar in structure to a simple, "repeat after me" drill.

Through this process of socially mediated regulation, the participants create different contexts for communication within each lesson. Following the work of Philips (1972) and more recently Au (1979) and Erickson and Mohatt (1980), we called these important lesson configurations "participation structures". Our analysis shows that the different types of interactions that make up these participation structures are the principal mechanisms by which the teacher tries to impart the content of the lesson to the student.

As we progressed with the description of the lessons, we started to make the contextual contrasts called for by our design. First, we focused our attention on the three different ability groups within each classroom setting. These "ability level" contrasts were extremely important because ability group (and individual) distinctions are the very foundation on which curriculum implementation is built; they organize the nature of the experiences for the children.

Second, we contrasted the ability groups across the two different language and instructional settings. We quickly formed the impression that the children encountered markedly different instructional environments when they went from Spanish to English. But, as we will make clear, it is not the language of instruction that is in itself responsible for this critical difference. It is the general focus of instruction within each language setting and the organization of lessons that this focus entails. The social organization of communication activities in great part determine what the children do or do not learn in their second language reading lessons.

More detailed analysis of the lesson environments, not in isolation, but, in relation to each other as part of a general classroom "system", showed that these environments are not only organized and individualized for each ability level, but are also functionally interrelated. There is a non-random progression or sequence of key activities that defines ability groups. Consequently, the role of the teacher changes in systematic ways as she interacts with the different groups to create their characteristic participation structures. The sequence illustrates nicely the shifts in behavior that characterize change within a zone of proximal development. In the low ability group the teacher actively directs and, in fact, does much of the reading task for the students; in the middle group we see a subtle "distancing" as she or he deals with children who have more experience with the task and thus can take over more of it for themselves; in the high group the children can apply all of the skills found in the previous contexts virtually independent of the teacher help and direction.

In the next sections we will describe the general organization of the reading lessons in the Spanish setting for each of the three ability groups, the variations in the forms of teacher and student talk found in each group, as well as how the communicative and task demands are distributed across groups. We will then turn our attention to a detailed examination of the pedagogical function of these variations in creating differential learning environments for the children involved in these lessons. Examples of the participation structures that regulate how learning takes place will be provided for the transcripts. These findings will then be contrasted to the results of a similar analysis for the English setting.

The Spanish Setting

The three ability groupings studied in the Spanish classroom contained fourteen children. These ability groupings represent a four-grade span in reading abilitiesin Spanish ranging form primer to advanced fourth grade levels. The children were distributed in the following manner; six children in the upper group, five in the middle group, and three at the lower reading level. The three children in the low group received individual instruction, but their frequencies were combined and reported as a group for the purpose of comparisons.

Lesson Phases. With few exceptions the Spanish instructional sequences taped were comprised of the following subphases: 1) getting organized or preliminary instructions; 2) oral reading of a given text or of the students' own written work; 3) comprehension activities involving questions (oral and written) geared to externalize the children's understanding of the content just read; and 4) "closing" phase where directions related to subsequent assignment are usually presented (e.g., a related worksheet, a book report, or a selection to read or reread).

The first phase, "getting organized," is very similar to Mehan's (1979) "setting up," but with variations according to each ability level. Wholesale physical arrangements or rearrangements were minimal except for the dyads of the lower level. These children were seated together at a given table, but since each child read from a different text, it usually became necessary for the teacher to have them move their chairs away from the table to minimize distractions. With the middle and upper groups the teacher would stand by or sit at their tables. The upper group occasionally was asked to move 'en masse' to the rug for book reports, but as a rule their instruction took place at their usual table.

The "getting organized" phase was often used to direct the students to what was coming later. Mehan describes it as passing on sufficient information and directions or "forecasting" in order to get respondents to "pay attention" to what is coming. We found, however, that although such forecasting usually occurred during the first subphase, it did not occur exclusively there. Sometimes it was interspersed between subphases, usually between task shifts as in the following example with the middle group:

> Having responded to review questions, both written and oral, on previous days, the teacher says, "I am going to ask you questions C about the penguin. Later we are going to review the other birds we have studied and how they are different." (Translated from the Spanish).

The second phase, oral reading, consisted of the students reading aloud the assigned text. The teacher listened and intervened to provide help or correct pronunciation and grammatical errors. During the third phase, comprehension, the teacher determined the student's level of understanding by asking questions about the story just read. Difference in the social organization of these two phases will be explored in detail under "Communicative Functions".

The final phase consisted of a clear-cut ending of the lesson. This ending or closing often included an explicit description or explanation of upcoming tasks.

Notable for our purposes in attempting to ferret out qualitative differences in instruction across ability levels is the regularity with which each subphase occurred. A clear idea of across-level variations in phases can be drawn once relative time-on-task is considered. The amount of lesson time spent in each of the phases across the three ability groups is shown in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

The reader cannot help but be struck by the differences across ability groups. Clearly, the kinds of educational experiences the children typically receive differs markedly with ability group. For instance, for the high group a substantial part of every lesson was devoted to activities designed to assess and promote reading comprehension. In contrast, such activities did not occur in over half of the low group lessons. The significance of these variations in the organization of lessons will be explored in the next sections.

Communicative forms: Types of teacher and student talk. Lessons have often been characterized as sequences of questions and answers, questions asked by the teacher, answers provided by the students. This section reports the frequency with which the three types of teacher talk described earlier, Directives, Informatives and Elicitations, occur in the Spanish reading lessons. Table 3 shows the frequency of teacher initiated sequences found in the lessons analyzed.

Insert Table 3 about here

The results show that the instructional sequences are generally initiated and controlled by the teacher. Student initiated sequences were so infrequent that they were not tabulated.

In the Spanish classroom teacher talk predictably varied with respect to the lesson phases discussed earlier. For example, in the initial "getting organized" phase as well as in the final "closing" phase the teacher carries out routine management by using directives. Directives are also used in the "oral reading" phase to keep the lesson moving along at a reasonable pace. In the "comprehension" phase informatives and, specially, elicitations were used to assess and promote the understanding of content. Because of this correspondence between type of teacher talk and lesson phase, the time spent in each phase by each ability group (see Figure 1) largely determined the frequency of the three types of teacher talk.

To ensure comparability, fourteen lessons which contained each of the four subphases described were selected for further analysis. For the upper and middle groups, four lessons were selected each: two from March and two from June; for the lower group, six lessons were selected: three from March (one for each child) and three from June. Figure 2 shows the relative frequency of the three forms of teacher talk in each group both across ability levels and over time.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

The information in Figures 1 and 2 taken together give a reasonable idea of how time was spent at each ability level and what types of talk the teacher employed. For example, note that only the high group shows an increase of elicitations over time. In contrast the lower and middle groups show an increase of directives and informatives over time. These results indicate that differences in teacher talk are related to the specific goals of the lessons. This asserts that communicative forms must be studied in terms of the pedagogical function they perform. The significance of these types of teacher talk in constructing the "participation structures" which ultimately determine how learning takes place will be discussed in detail under "Communicative Functions". The next section, however, will explore the different types of elicitations that the teacher uses as the primary vehicle to teach the content of the lessons.

Elicitations: the exchange of academic information. As noted previously, once the phases of the lessons were located and the basic characteristics of each described, we continued with a more in-depth analysis of those portions of lessons in which the primary activity was exchange of academic information through the use of elicitations.

An elicitation does not seek just any information, it seeks particular information. Mehan (1979:43-46) located four kinds of elicitations in the informational exchange of lessons and we have employed his categories: (1) choice elicitations, (2) product elicitations, (3) process elicitations, and (4) metaprocess elicitations. Each of these elicitation not only require a specific kind of reply, but a correct response as to content that will allow the rest of the lesson to proceed its course. The distribution of elicitations across groups and the percentage of correct responses will be reported below.

Table 4 presents the frequency and percentages of each type of elicitation across the three ability levels.

Insert Table 4 About Here

These results might have been predicted from previous related work. Mehan (1979), for instance, found 17% choice elicitations, 78% product, 4% process, and 1% metaprocess in his nine lessons. If anything, we saw a more equal distribution in the first three types of elicitations and a higher percentage of process elicitations.

Table 5 shows the proportion and frequencies of total correct responses made to the various elicitations.

Insert Table 5 About Here

Interestingly, the high group had the lowest proportion of correct responses, the middle group the highest, with the low group somewhere in between. The implications of these findings will be discussed in a later section. The breakdown of correct responses across time is presented in Figure 3.

Insert Figure 3 About Here

This contrast of the correct responses in March to June presents a different picture. It show that although the middle group averaged a higher proportion of total correct responses it was the only group to show a decrease across time.

The information from Tables 4 & 5 and Figure 3 taken together indicates several trends: 1) of the total elicitations, the percentage of elicitation across groups for each type was roughly comparable; 2) the percentage of total correct responses was also roughly comparable across groups; 3) an increase over time in sheer number of elicitations, but only for the upper and lower groups; and 4) an increase over time in percentage of correct responses, but only for the upper and lower groups.

From this it would seem that not only was the upper group asked substantially were higher level elicitations, but they more also more accurate in responding. Admittedly, this is related to the increased opportunities to respond to more demanding elicitations, but this alone does not adequately explain the discrepancies noted since even when higher level elicitations were asked in the middle and lower groups, response accuracy was appreciably lower (for instance, in the process elicitations).

Before proceeding to a detailed account of the teaching practices, the results to this point may be summarized as follows: a) sequences in the Spanish lessons were largely initiated and controlled by the teacher with few student-initiated elicitations (less than 3%); b) the percentages of elicitations for each level were roughly comparable; and c) percentages of correct responses were roughly comparable. Also noted, but only for the upper and lower groups, were a) an increase over time in number of elicitations and b) an increase over time in percentage of correct responses.

Communicative functions: The organization of differential instructional environments The three lesson environments under study are organized to provide time on learning tasks that familiarize the children with different aspects of the subject of reading. The specific reading behaviors that the children practice in each group become increasingly complex as we move from the lower to the higher ability groups. This simply asserts that students tracked into different ability groups are given different curriculum content.

The low group. The primary objective of the lessons in this group was to provide the children with the necessary teacher or tutor help in learning how to pronounce accurately the words on the page. Although the children were seated at the same table and formed a distinct ability group, instruction was provided by the teacher on a one-to-one basis. In the example below, the student reads the words aloud, when the teacher notices he is having difficulty, she provides him with single words to help him continue. 3

1. Child (C): How are we going to the beach?
   Today we...
2. Teacher (T): We'll...
3. C: We'll go by tra...
4. T: train
5. C: train, said the mother. Lucy and Ringo see...
6. T: seem
7. C: seem happy (singular-"contento") too.
8. T: happy (plural-"contentos")
9. C: happy (plural) too.
10. T: mmmmmm
11. C: Bow wow, meow meow, we'll return
12. T: (isn't it) true

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[3] The examples provided in this section have all been translated from the Spanish and edited for brevity.

13. C: true that they are coming also.

Some interesting behaviors accompany the student's reading. For example, the student decodes while placing a piece of paper to cover those lines he has yet to read. This helps him to focus only on the exact line he is reading. At certain times the teacher will take over this function by moving the paper along the lines, thus simplifying even more the task demands on the student.

This instruction is carried out in many instances, without the children understanding what is being read. Consequently, the lessons are also structured to familiarize the children with the process of examining the content of the story. This is an important skill to develop, since answering comprehension questions becomes a primary activity in the more advanced groups. In the following example, the teacher questions the student after he has read a story about a family trip to the beach.

1. Teacher (T): OK, tell me what was the story "To Swim" about?

2. Child (C): That they are going to swim...
I mean in the morning they are going to go swim.

3. T: mm--uh. And does it seem by seeing this
(pointing to the picture) that they are
enjoying themselves? Or not?

4. C: Yes

5. T: How do you know that they are having a good time?
What do you see that shows they are having
a good time?

6. C: The sand and the ocean.

7. T: Yes, because it says that the sand and ocean are
pretty; but in the faces here (points to picture),
how are they?

8. C: They are happy.

9. T: The faces are happy. True? They are not sad.

The child has no problem with the intial question , a product elicitation(1-2). The next question (3), a choice elicitation, is whether the children in the story are enjoying the beach activities. Note that the teacher points to the illustration when she asks the student to confirm whether or not the children are enjoying themselves. The student answers affirmatively (4). Then the teacher asks the student to show how he reached his conclusion that the children are enjoying themselves and urges him to examine the illustration in order to provide an answer, a process elicitation (5). When the student answers inappropriately (6), the teacher directs him by pointing to the exact part of the illustration from where he can extract the answer and asks him a question (a product elicitation) directly related to the illustration (7). This procedure facilitates the desired response (8).

The type of this question-answer exchange is typical of lessons at more advanced stages and the primary vehicle used by the teacher for assessing the student's knowledge and/or level of comprehension. However, the form of the exchange is not typical of advanced classes, because the teacher often ends up supplying answers. In a manner sometimes called scaffolding (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976), the teacher will ask a question at some level of difficulty and, finding that the group or certain children in the group can't function at that level, moves to less difficult levels until the group's instructional level is met (See also Cole, Dore, Hall, & Dowley, 1978; Mehan, 1979). Thus, the teacher provides several kinds of assistance to help the student answer the questions he is unable to answer alone. Usually this takes the form of asking a series of choice and product elicitation to help the student answer a process elicitation. In the example, the teacher even points out to the student the exact part of the illustration as an aid in responding to the process elicitation. Variations in the systematic organization of this mediating strategy, a kind of organization that fits Vygotsky's (1978) idea that learning occurs in a "zone of proximal development," becomes very significant as we examine the middle and high group lessons.

The middle group. In contrast to the low group, the middle group lessons primarily involve teacher guidance in promoting reading _comprehension_, along with instruction about _how_ to answer in ways that communicate the knowledge of content. In the following example the teacher has asked each child to read a question to the child next to him using the questions in the book as a script. The response has to be correct in both content and form (in this case, a complete sentence).

1. T: I want you to ask Marcos this question.
2. J: Do you put a letter in the mailbox?
3. M: Yes, I put a letter in the mailbox?
4. T: Very good. You ask Ali question 2.
5. J: Do you place a letter in an envelope?
6. A: Yes, I place a letter in an envelope?
7. T: Very good, Ali. Okay, number 3--Ali to Jorge.
8. A: Do you have to give stamps to the mailman?

9. J: No, you do not have to give stamps to the mailman.

10. T: Or, I don't give stamps to the mailman.
Number 4 to Ali.

11. M: Does the mailman write the letters?

12. A: No.

13. T: In a complete sentence.

14. A: No, the mailman does not write the letters.

15. T: Very good. Number 6.

Although on the surface this activity seems very simple, as in the example provided for the lower group, it provides the students with early and very explicit practice in basic question-answer exchanges (often to known-answer questions or product elicitations) so common in school lessons. This careful practice may account for this group's accuracy in answering product elicitations (80%).

In this example, the children assume a more active role in the interaction than the lesson format of the low group requires. They assume (via the use of a script) both the role of questioner and respondent. In comparison with the lower group lessons we studied, the teacher's role clearly changes in three respects. The emphasis on content is different and she does not perform as much of the task herself. She also uses the reading materials, rather than oral discourse resources, to mediate her interactions with the children. In the above example, the teacher not only has the children use the questions in the book to ask their questions, but also to structure the form of their responses. In the next example, also with the middle group, the teacher is asking the questions, as is most common, but the children are asked to answer _without_ looking at their notebooks or at the text book--without material help. Their answers are, consistent with the model she has created, given in "complete sentence" form and faithfully reflect the content of the story. The added ingredient of providing question-answer formats from memory is reflected in the interaction. In at least one instance the teacher provides both the question and the answer for the student, reminiscent of her behavior with the lower reading group.

1. T: What kind of...I am going to ask the question and you are going to answer it in complete sentences, without looking at your books because I want to see if you remember what happened in the story. What kind of bird is the penguin?

2. C: The penguin is a very famous kind.

3. T: Let's see, yes, no, what does he do, what does he not do?

4. C: The penguin cannot fly, only...

5. T: Very good, that's the kind of bird, the bird that does not fly. Very Good. How are his feathers and what color are they, Ali?

6. C: The penguin's feathers are black.

7. T: Are what?

8. C: Black.

9. T: And are they long or short? The penguin's feathers are black and short, right? Ok, how are his wings?

10. C: His wings are short.

11. T: Very good, short. Where do they live, Marcos?

12. C: The penguins live in colonies.

13. T: Very good, you have studied. Where do they

lay their eggs, Angelica?

14. C: In their nests.

15. T: In their nests, right. Do they (the book) tell us how many eggs they lay?

16. C: Ten.

17. T: Okay, ah, what do penguins eat, Ali? Complete sentence.

18. C: The penguins eat fish.

Although the children are not looking at the materials, they are able to answer the questions correctly. With reminders (which may be the reason for the high number of Informatives that this group received), they can also phrase the answers in the teacher's desired complete sentence form. After the lesson terminates, the teacher asks the children to write out answers to the question found in the text. She makes it very clear that they have to incorporate the structure of the questions into their answers.

The high group. The high group lessons reveal yet other kinds of skill emphasis. The most obvious change is that the children are required to write book reports. But there are also qualitative changes in the way the teacher interacts with the students as a part of reading itself. In the activities the high group shares in common with the two lower groups, the questions are more spontaneous and informal. That is, the questions are less text-bound; they do not come straight from the book. Rather, the teacher pursues questions that arise from the exchanges with the students and the topics developed by these exchanges. Furthermore, the emphasis is now on the communication of _generalizations_ drawn from there are less reading and the requests for complete sentence answers. Take the following example, in which the teacher starts a combined evaluation/instruction activity after the group reads a poem about a cobbler.

1. T: Sandra, what is this poem about?
2. C: About a cobbler.
3. T: What is he doing?
4. C: Using his hammer.
5. T: Right. /Tipi tapa/, who is making that sound?
6. C: The hammer.
7. T: The hammer, right. Does the poem say that he is a good cobbler or a bad cobbler?
8. GR: (Group) (mixed responses)
9. T: Yes or no?

10. GR: He's a good cobbler.
11. T: He is? How do you know?
12. GR: (Several students respond together)
13. T: Where does the poem say that he is a good cobbler?
14. GR: (Several students respond together)
15. T: Sandra, read the part that tells us.
16. C: (Reads) "Ay tus suelas, zapa-zapa-zapatero remendon,
Ay tus suelas, tipi-tape, duran menos que el carton!
17. GR: Bad shoemaker.
18. T: Why is he a bad shoemaker?
19. C: "Duran menos que el carton." (They [soles] last less then the cardboard.)
20. T: How long should the soles last?

21. C: A little less time than the nails.
(The teacher laughs at his response and then
the lesson continues).

It is important to mention that the poem itself has no direct written reference to whether the cobbler is a good or bad shoe maker. This conclusion must be inferred from the information given in the poem. The teacher invites this generalization in line 7. There are some differences of opinion among the group whether the cobbler is good (competent) or not (8, 10, 12). The teacher selects a student who has answered that the cobbler is not too good, to specify which lines of the poem she used to reach her conclusion (15). She does (16), and the group$confirms her opinion (17). The instructor then requests more information (18), a child quotes the exact part of the line (19) that tells the reader that the shoes do not last long. In this example the teacher relied solely on her oral language to guide the children's actions, controlling alternatives by her choice of elicitations and by directing the children to find the relevant part of the text. The teacher uses choice and product elicitations as a way to get the children to respond accurately to the higher order questions. Therefore, the High group's 54% total response correctness (reported in the previous section) is not an indicator of what they know; it reflects the mediating strategy of using both correct and incorrect responses as a way to "move" the children ahead in their "zone of proximal development".

Some overlap does exist between the way that the high group's and the middle group's activities include the use of material objects as support to construct responses.

Consider the following brief example from a lesson in which the students are reading about a Native American group and their customs. In the portion of the transcript presented here the teacher is asking questions regarding the content of the story.

1. T: Who can...How can the Navajos be hurt?

2. C: The corn, rain and wind.

3. T: The corn, rain and wind, and what else? (She looks around the entire group.)

4. C: The sun.

5. T: The sun and what else?

6. C: (Inaudible response)

7. T: What do they (the book) say could also damage them? The what...What type of thoughts (she points to her head)?

8. C: Bad thoughts.

9. T: Very good, then can you make it into a complete sentence?

   You (points to a girl who answered previously)? Okay, read the question so you can remember how you are going to construct it.

10. C: (Hesitates in providing answer.) The Navajos can be hurt by the sun, the rain...(interruption, then the child continues)...and bad thoughts.

11. T: Very good. (The lesson continues).

Note the way that the teacher in requesting that the answer be given in a complete sentence (9), points out to the student that she can use the question in the text to help her organize the response. The result is an independent construction using the text as a tool of oral communication. In the next example, another student readily provides an answer to a question by incorporating the question into his response:

1. Monica: (to Julio) What do they do with the hogan when a person dies?
2. Julio: When a person dies in the hogan, they burn the hogan.

In this case, the construction of the answer is independent of teacher directions or the use of material aids. Note that the student uses the complete sentence form to respond. This is the same form that the teacher requires so frequently from the lower groups and occasionally with the high group. This suggests the possibility that the student now uses the communication activities previously provided by interaction with the teacher as a means of organizing his own responses.

Finally, consider book reports. This activity typifies the most advanced reading related activity found in this classroom. The students have to select a book of interest to them, and without teacher help, read it, analyze the content and write a report. In the following example the teacher has moved the children to the rug area to listen to their book reports. The children take turns reading their creations, while the teacher listens attentively. No attempt is made by the teacher to correct grammatical errors or to comment on the content.

T: Julio

C: "Titulo: El viaje que nunca acababa.
Autor: M. A. Pacheco

Era un senor que siempre estaba aprisa. Ese senor tenia una caja que tenia un experimento. Estaba muy aprisa que fue en un taxi. Habia mucho trafico que tuvo que bajar del taxi y se fue caminando. Faltaba una milla para llegar.

Llego a la casa de un amigo y de repente sono el telefono. Su amigo dijo, "halo, quien es?" Era la secretaria del doctor. El doctor se fue... El senor se fue al aeropuerto. El senor abrio la caja y agarro una hormiga y le echo el liquido y la hormiga se hizo mas chiquita. El doctor le dijo, "fantastico, te la comprare." El senor se puso muy alegre y luego el doctor le dio el dinero y le enseno (inaudible).

T: Muy bien, muy bien,...y todo lo escribistes de tu pensamiento, verdad?

(T: Julio.
C: "Title: The trip that would never end.
Author: M. A. Pacheco.

He was a man that was always in a hurry. That man had a box that contained an experiment. He was in a great hurry that he took a taxi. There was a lot of traffic that he had to get out of the taxi and he went by foot. There was a mile left before arriving. He arrived at his friend's house and suddenly the phone rang. His friend said, "Hello, who is it?" It was the doctor's secretary. The man said, "the doctor left...the man left for the airport." The man opened the box and grabbed an ant, and poured the liquid (on the ant). And the ant became smaller. The Doctor told him, "fantastic! I'll buy it." The man became very happy and the doctor gave him the money and showed him (inaudible).

T: Very good, very good,...and you wrote it all from your thoughts, right?)

Through the process of writing reports the children practice reading and at the same time display their mastery of all the skills we observed in the three lesson environments. This activity culminates in the children's carrying out independently the reading behaviors with new materials and creating a new product (i.e., the book report) in the process (c.f. Wertsch, in press). Again, the children are observed to successfully assume the mediations that are the responsibility of the teacher during the reading lesson we have described.

To summarize: We have briefly sketched out the nature of the three reading environments found in the Spanish classroom. We have shown that these environments are organized for providing time on learning tasks that familiarize the children with different aspects of the subject of reading. Our basic conclusion is that the specific behaviors the children practice and learn become increasingly complex and, through modifications in the teacher's role, independent of adult mediation and regulation as we move from the lower to the higher ability groups. These changes in skill emphasis seems to suggest a an ordered progression of behaviors and one which may reflect the teacher's implicit "theory" of reading.

The English Setting.

Once armed with the analysis on the Spanish reading lessons we applied the same procedures to the examination of the English data. There was a good correspondence between the membership of the high group across classrooms; the target children in the high group in Spanish were the same children in the high group in English. However, this common membership in groupings across classrooms did not hold for the children in the other two groups; some of the children in the Spanish middle group were assigned to the lower English reading group.

The following three points will be made in this section: 1) The English reading groups are also organized differently for each ability group, but at a much lower level than the Spanish lessons. 2) The overriding concern of the lessons in English is decoding, pronunciation and other forms related to the sounds of the second language; 3) This focus of instruction across groups accounts for the number of product elicitations these groups receive and for their high percentage of correct responses. We conclude by arguing that there is an underestimations of the children's oral language skills in English.

Lesson phases. The instructional sequences taped in the English classroom were organized into different phases, each serving a different function. The order of occurrence of these phases varied from lesson to lesson and, therefore, they did not necessarily occur in the order presented below.

The "getting organized" phase needs little elaboration, since as in the Spanish lessons, it was a time to get the students ready to pay attention to what was to follow. This phase was followed by oral reading, which consisted of the children taking time to read aloud parts of a text. During this time the teacher listens and intervenes to provide assistance as needed and to correct pronunciation problems.

A third phase consisted of the student's identifying word sounds and practicing grammar. This was one of the most prevalent activities across all groups. A fourth phase, which occurred rather infrequently on our tapes, was reading comprehension. It consisted of questions about what the students had read. Finally, there was also a closing or end of lessons.

The relative amount of time spent in each of the phases across the three ability groups is shown in Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

Note that in contrast to the Spanish lessons, reading comprehension activities are virtually absent. The primary foci of instruction, consistent across all groups, are phonics and practice with word sounds and grammatical rules.

Communicative Forms: Types of teacher and student talk. In the English lessons the teacher also controlled most communicative interchanges. Table 6 shows the frequency of teacher initiated sequences.

Insert Table 6 About Here

As in the Spanish classroom, most of the teacher's talk consisted of elicitations,usually requests for information. Note, however, that the frequency of teacher talk is over twice the amount recorded for the Spanish classroom, in particular in terms of directives and elicitations.

Figure 5 shows the relative frequency of the three forms of teacher talk in each ability group across time.

Insert Figure 5 About Here

As mentioned earlier, differences in teacher talk are related to the lesson phases. For example, Figure 5 shows a high number of directives for the High and Middle groups in contrast to the Low group. These directives correspond to the turn-taking and corrections activities involved in decoding activities in each group On the other hand, there is a high number of elicitations for the low group in comparison to the other two groups, since more time was spent on activities in which the students are asked to identify and produce word sounds. The next section examines these differences in elicitations in more detail.

Elicitations: the exchange of academic information. Frequency and percentages for each of the four different types of elicitations across the three ability groups are presented in Table 7.

Insert Table 7 About Here

Most elicitations are overwhelmingly of the product type, usually known-answer questions. For the low and high group students these were virtually the only type of questions they received. There is also a general absence of process and metaprocess questions across all groups.

Table 8 shows the composite number of correct responses to the elicitations across the ability groups.

Insert Table 8 About Here

All of the groups show a high proportion of correct responses. Only the low group shows a relatively low percentage (70.2) for the product elicitations.

Figure 6 shows the frequency of correct responses across time. Again, all of the groups perform at about the same level, with the low group registering an improvement in the proportion of correct responses over time.

Insert Figure 6 About Here

In the next section we examine the nature of the instructional contexts from where we derived the data reported above.

Communicative Function: A contrast in the organization of lesson environments.

__The low group__. The predominant activity for the low group in the English classroom concerned providing the children with help and practice in decoding (phonics) the text. But particular attention was also paid to providing the children with practice in producing __word sounds__. In fact, all of the lessons had participation structures related to pronunciation skills. The following example illustrates one such activity. The teacher has written words on the board and is asking the students to identify and cross out the letters that correspond to the sounds he is making.

1. T: mmuh...mmuh...Juan (calls on a student to answer)... mmuh.
2. S: (student crosses out the correct letters)
3. T: All right, what's the letter?
4. S: "m"
5. T: All right, "m". Angelica, thhuh...thhuh...
6. S: thhuh (crosses out the correct letters)
7. T: All right, what are the letters?
8. S: thhuh
9. T: No, what are the letters? That's the sound..."t...

10. S: "t,n"
11. T: No, that's not an "n"..."t...
12. S: "n...(hesitates)..h"
13. T: "t,h", all right.
    (lesson continues)

The teacher conducts these lessons using almost exclusively product elicitations. These relatively simple questions account for the high percentage of response correctness reported in Table 8 for this and, as we will show below, for the other two groups. Also, note that there is an absence of activities intended to familiarize the student with the procedures involved in reading comprehension, such as we saw these students receiving in Spanish.

The middle group. Decoding is also the primary activity with the middle group and the same emphasis on pronunciation is also prevalent. Thus, the lower and middle group activities are very similar in the degree to which participation structures are organized around decoding or phonics, and pronunciation. What distinguishes this group is that the teacher also provides some help in the identification and construction of words, pluralization and so on. But as in the lower group lessons, there is an absence of activities related to reading comprehension. Recall that the Spanish middle group was organized to promote reading comprehension as well as to provide instruction in how to answer in ways that communicate the student's knowledge of the content of the story.

The high group. Even in the high group the members of which we *know* can read for comprehension, the lessons are primarily organized to provide time on decoding and oral language practice, such as word construction and the identification of sounds. To a small extent the lessons contain reading activities designed to assess comprehension. In the next example the teacher is assessing whether the children have understood the passages he is reading to them.

1. T: "Sue played on the playground after lunch." Where did she play?

2. S: (The students bid to answer).

3. T: Julio.

4. S: Playground.

5. T: All right, on the playground. Who was it? Who was doing this?

6. S: Sue.

7. T: All right. When was it? When was it? Eduardo.

8. S: After lunch.

9. T: All right, after lunch. "Joan had dinner at night at her own house." When did she have dinner?

10. S: At night.

(Lesson continues)

It is clear that when the children shift from one language setting to another, they do not encounter "similar environments". We did not even find some correspondence of environments for the high group, which, after all, has demonstrated the ability to read with comprehension beyond what they exhibit in the example above. The resulting interactions limit the children's involvement to participation structures in English that are essentially mechanical in nature and at the lower ranges of their abilities (at the lower end of their zone of proximal development).

Oral Language Program. Considerable emphasis is placed on oral language development as an important if not necessary precursor and supplement to reading development. These oral language sessions are part of the regular schedule and are designed to help the students develop second language fluency. The brief examples that follow will illustrate the different types of oral language tasks. As with the reading lessons, these activities emphasize pronunciation and word sounds, but are conducted by the teacher's aide. Note that most of the tasks are organized to produce reactive speech, usually to repeat what the aide says.

The first example is of a repetition-type drill. These drills are practiced by all group regardless of ability level. In this particular example the teacher is asking the children to repeat an interrogative sentence.

1. T: Do you have one bowl or two bowls?
2. C: Do you have one bowl or two bowls?

Another common task across all groups, that can also be found in the reading lessons, is to identify word sounds. The teacher holds up a flashcard and the students have to identify the word and its beginning sound.

1. T: (Holding up the flashcard)... and this one?
2. C: Mom.... "m".

In a variation of this task the card contains a picture that the children have to identify. In the above examples the students are made to focus only on the mechanical task of mastering specific speech acts, usually devoid of significant content relevant to the children. The cognitive content of such utterances is also very limited.

The OLP also includes sentence construction tasks. In the next example the students are asked to use a word designated by the teacher to make up a sentence.

1. T: Use the word "pond" in a sentence.
2. C: We go fishing at the pond.

There are other tasks in which the students address each other that approximate conditions of interpersonal communication associated with the free production of discourse. The "fish" game example presented in the Overview of Results is one such task. In general, however, the focus of instruction is similar to the reading lessons--isolated word sounds, pronounciation and the identification of words.

It is not surprising that these lesson structures usually do not tap and extend the language skills that the children bring to the class. In many instances the OLP "participation structures" constrain the lesson environment. This becomes clear in the next example. The teacher shows a picture card to the children, in this case it contains a picture of a peacock, and the first child to verbally identify the picture gets to keep the card.

1. Cl: Chicken.
2. T: That's not a chicken. You see this at the zoo

all the time.

3. C2: Turkey.

4. T: No, that's not a turkey either.
They are known to have real pretty feathers
in the back.

5. C3: I went to a ranch and I see, like five of those.
One of them was following me.

6. T: No, that's not a chicken (in response to
another child's question).

7. C3: I saw one of those that was a boy (other
children are talking). The girls have the
little ones. Teacher, the girls have the
little ones (referring to the feathers).

8. T: What is this? (She is now showing another
card, the peacock is placed back in the deck
since no one was able to answer appropriately).

The language and cognitive resources of the third child went untapped because the lesson structure does not facilitate narratives. It is clear that the child knows something about peacocks, such as the fact that the males ("boys") have the largest plumage ("the girls have the little ones"). Yet, the teacher aide in her concern with having the children provide the correct name for the bird, misses an opportunity to tap the child's knowledge and, in so doing, practice his language skills.

The following is a similar example:

The teacher and the children are getting ready to start the lessons.

1. T: (One of the children sits down at the table)
How come you have these cards with you?

2. C: I went to Sea World yesterday (giving the cards to the
teacher)

3. T: You went to Sea World yesterday?

4. C: Uh hum, they had (pause) we didn't getta see Shamu (a whale).

5. T: No. How come?

6. C: We missed only one thing, Shamu.

7. T: Well you got to all the other shows?

8. C: Uh hum, all the, we got to go everywhere. We got to see the show, the puppet.

9. T: Is that all that's here today (referring to the number of children at the table).

10. C: Teacher, do you ever go to Knottsberry Farm (an amusement park)?

11. T: I've gone to Knottsberry Farm once.

12. C: I have too. (Other children start to arrive at the table) We've been to Magic Mountain (another amusement park).

13. T: ...to Magic Mountain too?

14. C: Uh hum, next time we are going to go to Magic Mountain again (other children are talking) and then they said, say the magic words. Magic Mountain (as his voice gets louder and fades away with mountaaiinn) (He is imitating a local TV commercial).

15. T: Okay, let's start on this now, okay. How many pennies does Oscar have?

16. Children in chorus: How many pennies does Oscar Have?

This child is in one of the low ability groups. It is clear from his narrative that he is able to utilize English, in a way that is more competent than one would assume gives the way the oral language lessons are structured. The same can be said for the children in the other groups.

Discussion

A possible explanation for the organization of lessons in English (and one which was suggested by the teacher) is that the children are weak in English and cannot engage in more advanced reading tasks. This "L2 deficiency" explanation makes sense and initially we were inclined to accept it. However, as we gathered more information, we began to realize the social organization of lessons in the English classroom is not solely a matter of the children being limited English speakers. Remember that the children are not allowed to participate in L2 classrooms until it has been determined (through testing and teacher observations) that they have sufficient fluency to benefit from instruction. This fact, coupled with our observations of the children in various classroom situations made us conclude that the children were much more fluent in English than they displayed during the videotaped lessons. In fact, as discussed above, we taped several occasions of children interacting outside of the general structure of the lessons when even children in the low groups were able to speak English in ways that are more sophisticated that those that occur within the lessons.

The analysis of the Spanish lessons clearly shows that most of the children, and especially the high group children, have developed decoding skills in Spanish. The high group children also display good decoding skills in English. In this limited sense, at the very least, they demonstrate that they know how to read. But if the children are sufficiently fluent in English and possess decoding skills, how is the difference in the level of performance across classrooms constructed? If most of the children can already decode in Spanish, why are the English lessons organized to place so much importance on phonics or accurate pronunciation as if they did not know how to decode? A likely source of the problem is that in the English setting pronunciation problems and decoding problems are being mistaken for each other. It is assumed that decoding is a pre-requisite to comprehension and that correct pronunciation is the best index of decoding (c.f., Goodman, Goodman and Flores, 1979). Consequently, the teachers organize the lessons to provide the children with the necessary time on task to help them practice pronunciation, phonics, and other aspects of language learning such as word construction. The implicit theory seems to be that correct pronunciation (decoding) must precede comprehension. To make an accurate differentiation between a child's inability to decode and inaccurate pronunciation of English words, it seems that the teacher would need to assess reading comprehension. But as our analysis indicates, activities permitting a display of reading comprehension rarely occur in the English reading lessons.

Further information about the interactional sources of this mismatch between language settings came from "viewing sessions" with the teachers. Owing to the teacher's hectic schedules they had never observed their students perform in each other's classrooms. The following quote from the Spanish teacher as she saw for the first time the children participating in English lessons is revealing: "Those can't be my kids. Why are they doing such a low level work? They are much smarter than that." What she means, of course, is that the children's behaviors in the English lessons do not represent their reading skills as manifested in her (L1) classroom.

One way to talk about the difference in competence levels observed for these children in the two classrooms is to claim reading skills do not transfer across language setting. But why should such lack of transfer affect children who can read, when adults do not totally lose such ability when shifting (say) from English to Spanish? The problem can not be located solely in the children's lack of language or reading skills in English. Instead the problem seems to arise from the social organization of reading and speaking in these lesson environments. In the classrooms we observed, the English environments are not organized to facilitate transfer of reading skills from Spanish. The lessons in English presuppose a lack of both reading and oral competence; consequently, they restrict the children to decoding or phonics work. Although these different lesson structures greatly influence what kids learn, teachers do not seem to focus on how the structure of the communication activities characteristic of lessons in both classrooms determine the nature of the educational outcomes. As a consequence, they tend to attribute characteristics to the children (e.g. language deficits) that are equally attributable to the environments in which the children function.

Conclusion

We began this research in order to understand better some of the complexities of the internal life of a bilingual program. In this final section we will point out what we consider to be the most important results of the study, their possible implications for bilingual education practice, and the direction of our future work.

Our analysis of lessons across language and instructional setting indicates that the manifestation and complexity of reading behaviors in the two classrooms is heavily influenced by the participation structures of the lessons found in each. The participation structures, in turn, are heavily influenced by accepted organizational constraints and presuppositions about the children's competence. We discovered similar activities encountered by the students in the two language settings (e.g., decoding practice) as well as tasks unique to each setting. When roughly comparable participation structures were identified in each setting, reading behaviors were basically similar across languages. But important participation structures associated with the more advanced L1 classroom were generally absent from the L2 setting giving the appearance that the children were competent readers in Spanish but inadequate in English. These results suggest that the extent to which transfer of learning in L1 can be manifested in L2 depends on similarities in the participation structures found in the two classrooms. These results are consistent with a large and growing body of literature showing that learning is primarily situation specific; generalizability to other situations depends on whether the environment is organized to provide similar features that will facilitate its applicability to a different setting (Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, in press).

There are important educational implications in such a conclusion. For one, the study shows how easy it is to misassess a child's language/reading competence, because the two skills are so closely linked. For example, a person observing the children only in their English lessons, without the benefit of also studying the children in their Spanish classroom, may readily reach erroneous conclusions about the children's reading skills. If one considers that the majority of the Latino children go to schools where only English monolingual instruction is provided, this becomes a serious concern. Although we are dealing with only two classrooms, these issues remind us of the warnings in the cross-cultural literature regarding the evaluations of performance in situations that are divorced from the everyday contexts in which people learn and regularly use their skills (e.g., Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, 1979). At the very least, we need multiple assessments of bilingual children that seriously take into account the influence of the situations in which skills are evaluated (LaBelle, Moll and Weisner, 1979; Moll, 1978).

Our results emphasize the need to study carefully the situation to which skills are supposed to transfer. An explicit purpose of most bilingual schooling is to stimulate the cross-lingual transfer of skills. It is expected that the children will apply in L2 the skills they learn in L1, thus accelerating their academic competence in English. Pecent attention to this issue has focused on the student's development of a minimal level of L1 competence before such transfers of skills to L2 may successfully occur (Cummins, 1980). Without denying the importance of such "threshold" levels of language development, it seems to us that the key to such transfers of skills is our ability to construct lesson environments that are strategically linked in ways that will facilitate the generalization of behaviors from one situation to another. But, how do we know when cross-lingual environments are sufficiently similar or unnecessarily different? What are the important environmental features that may help use and extend the resources a student brings to the classroom? A theory of how to create such environments has not generally been available to researchers in educational psychology because of our traditional emphasis on skills as internal abilities. Our current emphasis on contexts of instruction is the source of our interest in the work of Vygotsky and his students.

In our application of Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development to the construction of reading environments, we examined the role of the adult and the types of help and guidance they provided the different groups to accomplish the lesson's tasks. In the Spanish setting, the teacher offers the different groups assistance in a graduated and systematic way depending on the children's experience with the reading tasks. We also noted that as we moved from the low to the high group the children appeared to take over the mediations that formed the elements of mature reading activity. This kind of finding is important because it illustrates our contention that reading is a jointly produced activity where "progress" means that the child gains control over his or her own reading activities, allowing the teacher to structure more sophisticated lesson environments.

As we turned our attention to lessons in the English setting, we noticed how, given the special circumstances and constraints of teaching children in English, the content of the zones of proximal development that characterized the Spanish classroom changed. In contrast to what the children were doing in the Spanish setting, the children in English were performing what we (and the teachers) considered to be lower level tasks. The progression of activities seen in Spanish was practically absent from the English lessons, in part, we believe, because the lessons in both classrooms were organized independent of information about what occurred in the other classroom and the structure of the interactions typical of the English lessons did not provide a theoretically useful environment for development.

This type of detailed analysis of classroom behaviors is only possible because we directly examined the contexts where learning takes place. Doing so provided us with valuable insights into how learning is mediated by the adults in the classroom and what are the concrete activities of communication that shape the way the children cope with the different learning tasks. The Vygotskian perspective we have adopted helps us interpret the significance of the behaviors we describe. These combined factors make this research approach pedagogically optimistic: It indicates that the children's development is accessible to adult guidance and it suggests relationships between learning environments in L1 and L2 that may be used to develop more beneficial educational activities.

Before describing our forthcoming work, some of the limitations of the present study should be made clear. One of the primary characteristics of our approach, its focus on the immediate contexts of learning, may be its primary drawback. Focusing only on classroom activities prevents a view of the bilingual program in its totality. Important out-of-classroom factors such as administrative priorities, political realities, parental desires, that may heavily influence the structuring of the classrooms may go unexamined. This does not have to be the case. This information can be gathered, analyzed and related to what is going on in the classroom. These additional factors would place the classroom in its larger school and community context and help us understand more clearly its dynamics. Naturally this effort would also require an expanded and more expensive scope of work.

Similarly, there is also a need to explore the student's reading activities outside the formal lessons we have studied. Griffin (1977), for example, has documented the extent to which the teaching and learning of reading may occur as part of other classroom events. In these cases reading is used as a tool by the children to accomplish other ends, something that rarely occurs within the formal lessons. This additional practice and experience that the children receive in reading may have or could be organized to have important implications about how and what is taught in the formal reading lessons. The same argument can be made for exploring the functions of reading outside the classrooms, and how these reading activities are culturally and socially organized in the community where the children live. Au (1979) provides a good example of how information from the children's activities in the community may be incorporated into lessons, critically affecting their educational impact. All of the above points need to be developed as part of future efforts.

Considering the above issues we are proceeding cautiously. Building on the findings of this study, we are currently organizing a more controlled project that could be termed an "ethnographic experiment." The purpose is to manipulate the instructional conditions under which the children are asked to develop skills in order to increase their educational impact. With the help and cooperation of the classroom teachers we will be developing and implementing a series of communication activities intended to create effective bilingual zones of proximal development. These activities will compliment and augment the regular classroom lessons. The goal of the intervention is to produce change in the children's use of important communication skills within a relatively short period of time. By manipulating participation structure, we will try consciously to synchronize activities so that what goes on in L1 is related to what is going on in L2 and vice-versa. We will utilize information gathered from related observations of the children in other classroom activities and in non-school settings to help us structure and organize the "treatment."

The participants will be those children whom the teachers identify as having difficulties in communication in both Spanish and English. These children are the source of greatest concern for both the teachers and parents. We will use microethnographic and other observational techniques to document changes in the environment as well as the accompanying changes in the children through time. All of the children will also be interviewed throughout the study in order to collect additional information on what strategies they are using to execute the different tasks and their awareness of the use of these strategies (see Markova, 1978-79). The results should help the teachers in a bilingual program coordinate the organization of lessons in two languages so that the children can take advantage of all their existing skills as they participate in formal lessons.

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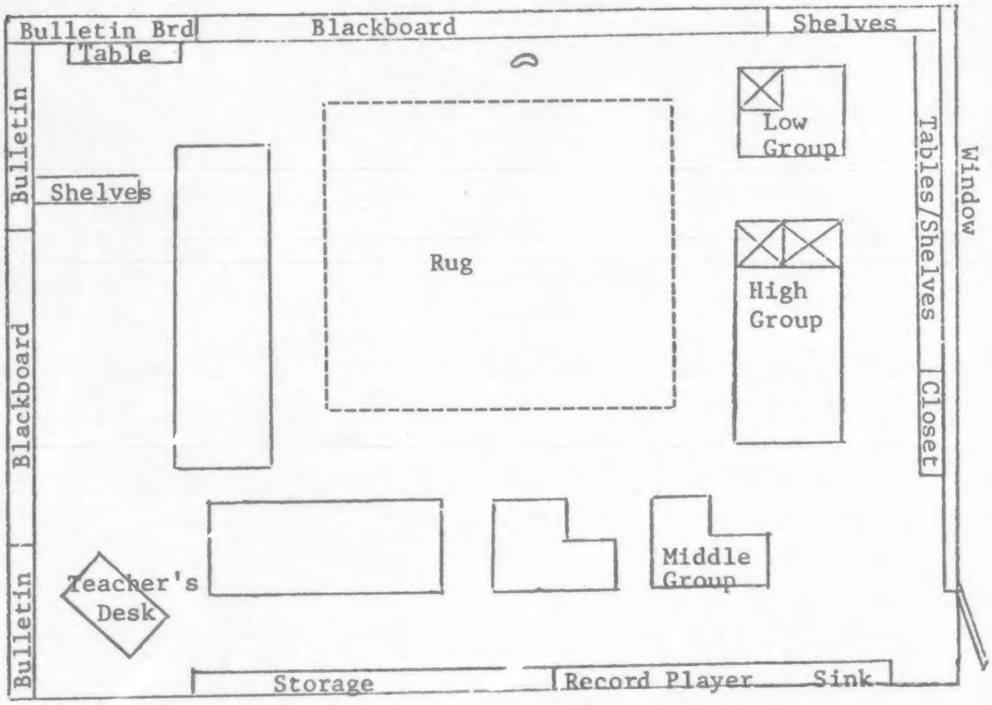
Appendix A

The Instructional Model. The major characteristics of the instructional model implemented at the target school are as follows:

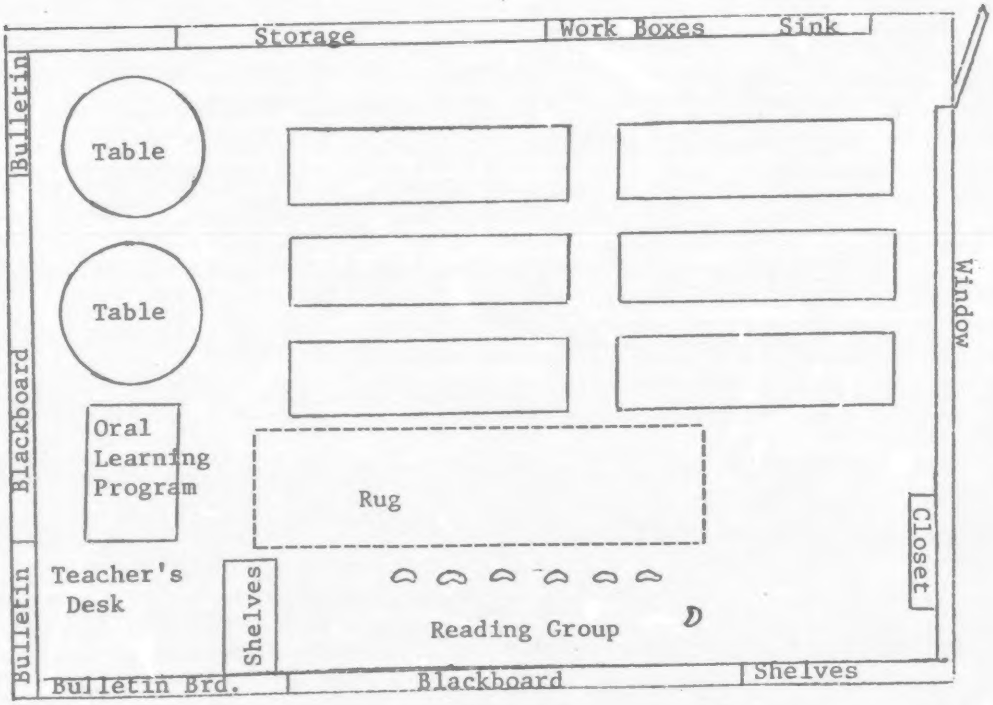
1. At each grade level, a class of English speaking children is paired with a class of Spanish speaking children.
2. Two teachers are employed: one who teaches in English; the other, usually a bilingual of Hispanic extraction teaches in Spanish. In addition, each classroom has an Instructional Aide who performs supportive duties. Aides are ideally bilingual, but in a few Spanish model classrooms they are monolingual Spanish speakers.
3. English teacher speaks to the children only in English, the Spanish teacher, only in Spanish.
4. In the earliest grades, instruction is primarily in the children's native language. As the child progresses through the program, the percentage of instruction in the native language is decreased while the percentage of instruction in the second language is increased, until by fourth grade the child should be receiving half of his/her instruction in each language.
5. A preview-review method is used. (Lessons are introduced in the child's native language, concepts are taught in mixed language groups, then reviewed again in the second language.
6. Considerable emphasis is placed on oral language development as a necessary precursor to written and reading development.

The use of two teachers is designed to provide a separate instructional environments for each of the two languages and to provide appropriate and equal status role models for each language.

Classroom Diagrams


Bulletin Brd
Blackboard
Shelves
Table
Bulletin
Shelves
Rug
Low Group
High Group
Tables/Shelves
Window
Blackboard
Closet
Middle Group
Teacher's Desk
Bulletin
Storage
Record Player
Sink

Spanish Classroom


Storage
Work Boxes
Sink
Bulletin
Table
Table
Window
Blackboard
Oral Learning Program
Rug
Closet
Teacher's Desk
Shelves
Reading Group
Bulletin
Bulletin Brd.
Blackboard
Shelves

English Classroom

Appendix B

Sequential Descriptions of Lessons

HIGH GROUP

Tape 3
Spanish Reading
3/15

Group members: Eduardo, Esmeralda, Julio
Juan, Monica and Sandra

46:45 1. Getting organized.

46:51 2. Individual reads aloud to teacher. Smaller group activity, turn-taking, children read without difficulty.

50:32 3. Teacher informative. She pairs students and informs them she will be asking questions after they finish reading.

50:36 4. Individual reading continues.

51:39 5. Teacher comments on assignments.

Reading time - 4:36

Interruptions - 2:23

HIGH GROUP

Tape 4 & 5
Spanish Reading: Navajo Story
3/16

10:21 - 11:01 1. Getting organized.
Teacher: "Are you ready?" (Interruption)

11:01 - 19:102 2. Individual reads aloud; children read without difficulty.
Teacher intervenes only to correct mistakes, request a child to read louder or to signal a turn and provide directions.
(Several interruptions)

3. Teacher asks questions regarding story and explains or defines words (e.g. superstitious)
(Interruptions by tutor)

20:16 4. Individual child reads questions from book and responds orally.
Teacher instructs one student to ask question read from text for another student.
Teacher intervenes to rephrase questions, expand answers and give directions.

20:50 5. Student raises hand to respond when other student fails to respond. Teacher nominates student to answer.

21:20 6. Teacher requests students to frame answer in complete sentence and to use questions to guide the construction of the answer.
(Teacher interruption)

0:44 7. Teacher nominates student to ask peer next question. And teacher restates question and provides answer when students do not respond.

0:49 8. Teacher nominates students to ask peer next question. Student answers in complete sentence format.
The teacher intervenes to help students answer and frame questions in complete sentence format.

9. Teacher asks student if they have understood the story and whether they are ready to take a test on it. She instructs students to answer questions on text.

10. Students elicit information regarding another task not related to reading.

11. Lesson ends.

High Group

Tape 6 & 7
Spanish Reading
3/19 (Teacher & Teacher Aide)

40:05	1. Teacher aide reviews and corrects grammar of a book report students are preparing. She also provides students with word definitions.
48:50	2. Teacher requests that students move to rug area to read book reports they have prepared. Teacher reminds aide that students have been assigned another report for tomorrow.
50:20	3. Students read book reports to the teacher. Teacher intervenes to provide format. She wants students to start report by naming book title and author. Otherwise students read w/out corrections.
55:10	Interruptions - class noisy
58:27	4. Teacher praises students and reminds them they have the same assignment for the following day.
58:53	5. Lesson ends.

Grammar correction - 8:12

Book report reading - 8:30

Interruptions - :56

HIGH GROUP

Tape 7 & 8
Spanish Reading: Bookreports
3/20

45:17 1. Teacher calls group to rug area to read book report.

45:56 2. Individual students read aloud their book reports. These are their individual creations, although they receive help with the grammar. Teacher listens attentively. The teacher rarely intervenes but to praise them at the endeavor.

53:22 3. Tape ends.

HIGH GROUP

Tape 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

21:28 1. Task begins. Teacher signals for task to begin by saying, "Ok. (inflected) Then picks on a student to start and stands beside him.

21:41 2. Teacher stops him and asks him if he has copied from the book. Finding that he has, she reprimands him and assigns him another book and makes him throw the other away.

22:58 3. Task ends by her moving toward another student.

22:59 4. Task change. The movement to the next student across from the previous student is the signal to read. No instruction is given. Student reads report.

23:31 5. Teacher says, Ok, muy bien." Task ends.

23:47 6. Task changes. Teacher stands behind next student. Student reads.

7. (Interruption: Teacher conducts business with interrupter (silently) while student continues to read.)

25:02 8. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien."

9. (Interruption continues until next student reads).

25:46 10. Task change. Teacher points at student across the table. Student reads while teacher walks by student's side.

26:36 11. Task ends. Teacher asks if student copied book report. Student admits to copying some words. Teacher says alright.

27:15 12. New task. Teacher points to next student and walks over to her. Student reads while teacher stands behind her.

27:47 13. Task is stopped. Teacher asks student if she copied. Student answers, "a little." Teacher addresses group about levels of copying that are acceptable: Words are permitted but not entire sentences or phrases. Teacher rejects student's work but has her keep reading.

High Group (Continued)
Tape 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

28:09 14. Task is restarted with student reading.

29:33 15. Task change with new student beginning to read as teacher walks over. The signal to read may have been given by eye contact. Student reads while teacher walks over.

30:24 16. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien." Teacher has general discussion with group.

30:55 17. Task ends for group with teacher saying, "Children, have you finished."

31:38 18. Teacher walks over to first student she caught copying and continues discussing the copying incident. She notices that he is already writing another report. Teacher asks if he has read book already (previously). Student admits to it and teacher (upset) reads report crumples it and reprimands him for not reading a new book. She leaves.

32:30 19. Session ends.

HIGH GROUP

Tape 18
Spanish Reading
6/21

12:28:06 1. Task begins with task being introduced by teacher saying, "muy bien." (with inflection and a higher pitch. She tells a student to begin to read. Student begins to read but teacher has him stop and read the title and the name of the author. Reading continues by turn.

29:19 2. Task ends.

29:20 3. Task change. Teacher now asks questions about the nature of the story and children decide that it is a poem.

29:31 4. Task ends.

29:32 5. Task change. Reading continues. Teacher invites entire group to bid for who is to read next but she has already chosen a student by moving toward her and exchanging signals. Other students have raised their hands at the invitation to bid but teacher ignores them and continues to look at student who has not raised her hand. Student finally raises her hand and teacher selects her to read.

30:40 6. Task ends.

30:41 7. Task changes with teacher asking questions about the poem they have just read. Teacher invites students to bid and she calls on them in turn.

32:52 8. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien."

33:06 9. Task change. Teacher now asks students which story, of all they have read, they liked best. She selects them by eye contact and head nodding.

In the course of this task teacher expands upon the use of words in the poem and teaches a student how to use the dictionary.

36:20 10. End of task. Teacher goes to get next book to be read by students and explains new assignments in book.

12:39:20 11. Session ends with teacher leaving group.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape #3
Spanish Reading

Group members: Ali, Jorge, Angelica, Marcos, Carolina

39:00 1. Getting organized.

39:15 2. Teacher reads aloud from text, group follows silently from book.

40:35 3. Choral reading, teacher and group together read same story aloud.

42:32 4. Group recall/question, group response. Questions from text.

42:38 5. Group instructed to read story at home to parents.

42:47 6. Teacher introduces new vocabulary from story, defines new words to group.

43:28 7. Group assignment to be able to use new vocabulary in a sentence on following day.

43:35 8. Group assigned to practice reading story independently (teacher leaves).

43:49 9. Teacher explains grammar worksheets (interrogatives, negatives, opposites, etc.) To be done independently.

46:11 10. Lesson ends.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape 4 & 5
Spanish Reading

2:41 1. Getting organized.

5:29 2. Individual reads aloud to teacher. Teacher names student who is to read. Teacher intervenes to correct pronounciation and grammatical errors.

9:10 3. Individual reads definition of new vocabulary from reader. (e.g. Vamos a... Comienza (names Student))

10:28 4. Individual uses vocabulary in sentence. Teacher names student to answer.

12:43 5. Group gives examples of different groups who live in "colonias."

14:05 6. Language Arts, Inv. to bid, identify type of sentence used by Carolina (interrogative), points to student.

14:21 7. Written assignment to group, questions in the book. Teacher points to the book and gives directions for Monday's assignment. Write Q and A using complete sentences.

14:47 8. Lesson ends.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape 6 & 7
Spanish Reading

Group members: Ali, Angelica, Jorge, Carolina, Marcos.

1:27 1. Getting organized.

3:10 2. Teacher reads aloud Pinguino story. Teacher stands with papers on the table.

4:05 3. Individual reads aloud to group. Each student has turn. Teacher calls on each student.

9:25 4. Teacher reads definition of new vocabulary from the book.

9:53 5. Group uses new vocabulary in sentence. Teacher calls on students by nodding and pointing.

11:10 6. Written assignment. Answer question in book in complete sentence, independently, okay.

23:11 7. Teacher corrects and helps students with written assignment - how to find answer. (e.g., What kind of bird is the penguin?)

35:03 8. Teacher corrects question and answer from reader (grammar, interrogatives, accents, spelling, sentences, non-sentences, capitals, if copying, etc.)

39:49 9. Lesson ends.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape 7 & 8
Spanish Reading
3/20

Group members: Ali, Angelica, Jorge, Carolina, Marcos.

22:00 1. Getting organized. Student getting ready to read.

22:14 2. Teacher asks them to review the story of the "penguino" while she goes for her copy of the book.

23:51 3. Teacher returns and sits with the group. Children start reading by taking turns.

28:35 4. Teacher has children respond orally to questions the children have already answered in written form. Children are asked not to refer to text for help and that they must respond in "a complete sentence."

33:00 5. Review of questions ends and teacher explains their new assignment. She asks them if they understood and when they answer affirmatively they leave.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape 9 & 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

Group members: Ali, Jorge, Angelica, Marcos, Carolina.

0:00:00 1. Getting organized.

02:45 2. Task begins. The teacher is going to ask questions about; 1) lesson on penguins, and 2) other birds they have studied.

3. Task is introduced by teacher saying, "Muy bien," with a higher pitch and sress on the word "bien."

4. Teacher begins by saying, "Muy bien, ya estan listos para pasar?" "Lo que van a hacer ahora...(interruption)" "Les voy hacer las prequntas del pinguino... y despues vamos a hablar de las otras aves de las ques hemos hablado." ..."Muy bien." (Inflected and a signal that the task is about to begin.)

5. Teacher asks a student a question. The group later continues to respond to the teacher's questions in sentence form and in turn as indicated by the teacher.

06:36 6. Task change. Now the teacher asks about the birds they have studied. She makes them close their books. The format for responding is now changed. Full sentences are no longer required but turns are still taken. Students are asked to recall things they have read in the past, (e.g., which birds they have studied, particular characteristics, etc.

07:09 7. Task change. The students are now asked to compare the various birds they have studied. She proposes a comparison. The format for responding is now changed again.

8. The structure is much looser and the teacher accepts chorus answers from the group. Turns are taken only when someone is specifically chosen by the teacher, or if that person is the only one who knows the answer.

08:59 9. (Interruption)

Middle Group (Continued)
Tape 9 & 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

9:33 10. Task continues after interruption.

12:50 11. Task ends with an interruption by a mother entering classroom to speak to teacher.

MIDDLE GROUP

Tape 18 & 19
Spanish Reading
6/21

Group members: Ali, Jorge, Marcos

12:39:50 1. Task begins with the students taking turns reading a story about a letter. Teacher initiates task by saying, "All right...

2. Each child reads in turn as selected by the teacher. The selection is made by the teacher saying the name of the student or by a nod of the head or eye contact.

42:34 3. Task ends.

42:38 4. Task change. Teacher signals to another student. The questions are to be read from the book. One student reads the question while another responds with a complete sentence form. Teacher indicates who is to read the question and to whom. Generally, once a child has answered a question they get to ask one.

45:07 5. Task ends by teacher saying, "muy bien" stressing bien.

45:15 6. Teacher signals for new task to begin. Students are to read a list of words (from the book) containing the sounds of ja, je ji, jo, ju.

46:00 7. Teacher signals for task to end.

8. Teacher expands upon part of the lesson and gives a lesson on "china" as another word for "naranja".

46:52 9. Task change. The students are to complete the missing letter in a word. The letters are those discussed above. (e.g., ja, je, etc.)

10. The teacher reads from the book and invites students to bid for turns. Each student eventually participates.

47:52 11. Task ends with the teacher's signaling its end.

47:53 12. Task change with the teacher introducing a lesson in the book on questions.

Middle Group (Continued)
Tape 18 & 19
Spanish Reading
6/21

48:03 13. (Interruption)

48:13 14. Back on the task teacher continues explaining what a question is and how it is identified. She asks each student to ask questions. Children find the task a bit difficult so the teacher offers a lot of examples and other assistance.

51:20 15. Task ends.

51:21 16. Children do not participate. Teacher explains the assignment that they are to do (from the book). It is based on the lesson they have just completed. They are to write questions.

52:46 17. (Interruption)

53:10 18. Teacher continues with assignment.

53:46 19. (Interruption)

54:11 20. Teacher spends this time explaining assignment on handout sheet she has prepared. This is in addition to questions in the reading book.

57:37 21. Lesson ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 3
Spanish Reading

Group members: Diana, Alberto, Gabriel

2:54 1. Getting organized.

3:05 2. Individual reads aloud to teacher.

3:56 3. (Interruptions)

4:32 4. Individual is requested to do an oral summary of the reading.

4:40 5. Individual recalls title of story, etc.

4:48 6. Individual is asked to define new vocabulary which occurs in the story.

6:08 7. (Interruption)

9:22 8. Individual must study or repeat reading lesson, doesn't pass assignment.

15:26 9. Teacher explains written grammar assignment worksheets (interrogatives, negatives, opposites, nouns, pronouns, etc.)

16:03 10. Independently working on written assignment worksheet.

17:21 11. Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 3
Spanish Reading

Group members: Diana, Alberto, Gabriel

17:40 1. Getting organized.

18:21 2. Individual reads aloud to teacher. (microphone out of order, unable to hear total reading time)

18:43 3. (Interruption)

18:54 4. Individual reading assignment. (indistinguishable)

19:15 5. (Interruption)

19:44 6. Individual given written grammar assignment. (indistinguishable because of microphone)

20:57 7. Individual reads aloud to tutor. (indistinguishable)

21:07 8. Child is supposed to be independently working on written assignment worksheet. Child is off task.

22:54 9. End of task. Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 4 & 5
Spanish Reading

Group member: Gabriel (Individually)

0:04	1. Getting organized.
0:09	2. Individual reads aloud to teacher. Teacher tells him to read pointing to the book.
0:39	3. (Interruption)
1:30	4. Reading proceeds. Task continues.
2:05	5. Student asks teacher for information... decoding.
2;37	6. (Interruption)
3:44	7. Task change. Individual reading assignment Teacher begins task by saying, "okay," asks for student's pencil and writes pages to be read.
4:13	8. Tutor assignment.
4:17	9. Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 4 & 5
Spanish Reading

Group member: Diana (individually)

4:40	1. Getting organized
5:08	2. Individual reads aloud to teacher.
6:52	3. (Interruptions)
9:32	4. Teacher changes task by saying, "okay," and assigns reading assignment.
10:17	5. Tutor assignment - overlaps.
10:21	6. Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 6 & 7
Spanish Reading

Group member: Gabriel (individually)

11:50	1.	Getting organized.
14:27	2.	Teacher begins task by saying, "okay," and telling student to begin to read.
14:51	3.	(Interruption)
15:29	4.	Task continues with student reading.
15:39	5.	(Interruption)
16:25	6.	Student continues to read.
16:32	7.	(Interruption)
16:43	8.	Task continues with student reading aloud.
19:39	9.	Task changes. Individual elicitation, oral summary of story, recall. Task is changed by teacher saying, "okay."
21:37	10.	Teacher explains written and reading assignment. a. Write using 5 words in complete sentence. b. Practice reading pp...
34:05	11.	Student elicits information, how to spell, etc.
34:57	12.	Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 6 & 7
Spanish Reading

Group member: Diana (individually)

26:58 1. Correcting written assignment. Teacher begins task by saying, "okay."

27:17 2. (Interruption)

27:29 3. Task continues.

28:50 4. (Interruption)

29:03 5. New task is introduced. Individual reads aloud to teacher.

30:19 6. Teacher reads aloud, demonstrates expressions while student repeats, mimics speed and intonation.

33:07 7. Individual must review assignment, practice, didn't pass. Teacher explains, pointing and turning the pages.

33:22 8. Session ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 6 & 7
Spanish Reading

Group member: Alberto (individually)

33:37 1. T instructs student in oral reading, more than 3 errors, repeat.

34:05 2. Tape ends.

LOW GROUP

Tape 7 & 8
Spanish Reading
3/20

Group members: Alberto, Diana, Gabriel

36:00 1. Teacher goes to read with Alberto. Teacher and Alberto have moved over to the carpet area.

2. (Interruptions)

3. Alberto begins to read.

37:07 4. Teacher stops task to reprimand some children. Alberto waits until she returns.

37:38 5. Alberto resumes reading while teacher listens.

40:12 6. Student finishes reading and teacher gives him a new assignment and calls another student over to read.

40:45 7. Student comes over to read and starts reading.

8. (Interruptions) Student continues to read while teacher deals with interrupters.

9. Teacher finally listens briefly and then says, "you didn't practice, did you?" She sends student to practice with another student.

10. She calls another student over to read.

42:07 11. Student comes over to read. He reads well and she tells him so. They continue reading.

45:17 12. He finishes reading and leaves.

LOW GROUP

Tape 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

Group member: Gabriel (individually)

11:39 1. Task begins. Teacher stands next to Gabriel and asks him if he is ready. She then sits and makes throat-slitting motion and sound while saying, "if you don't read it, eh?" Student reads poorly with lots of teacher assistance.

12:18 2. Task is stopped. Teacher looks at student and then asks him if he studied the previous night. Student does not respond. She reprimands him at length and she assists him in the reading.

13:23 3. Task is restarted. Both teacher and student read together.

14:17 4. Task ends by teacher saying, "okay." Teacher assigns tutor to help student with reading. Teacher gives tutor and student an example of what type of help is expected.

14:51 5. Teacher leaves student.

LOW GROUP

Tape 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

Group member: Diana (individually)

06:13 1. Task begins. Teacher shuffles through the stories. Finds the one she wants student to read (points)." Student begins to read.

6:47 2. (Interruption)

7:20 3. Subtask: Teacher points in book and asks what is it called. Student starts to read but Teacher wants to know the formal name of what she is reading, she gives student the initial sound, "Tiii..." Student does not respond and teacher continues sounding out, "Tit..." (slowly). Student still does not respond. Teacher tells her what it is "Title." Student continues reading.

8:26 4. (Interruption) Teacher quiets classroom.

8:39 5. Reading continues.

9:11 6. (Interruption)

9:15 7. (Interruption) Student, however, continues reading.

10:27 8. Task ends.

10:28 9. Task change. Teacher asks student questions about question marks. Teacher answers her own question.

10:37 10. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien. Teacher gives new assignment.

LOW GROUP

Tape 10
Spanish Reading
3/21

Group member: Alberto (individually)

15:57 1. Task begins. Alberto begins to read. He reads fairly well with a little teacher assistance.

19:47 2. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien."

LOW GROUP

Tape 18
Spanish Reading
6/21

Group member: Gabriel (individually)

13:33:56 1. Task begins. Student starts to read after coming to the reading table where teacher is. Student gets lots of help from the teacher.

36:26 2. Task ends. Teacher tells student that he read very well. She then discusses the next assignment he is to do.

38:10 3. Teacher leaves student.

LOW GROUP

Tape 18
Spanish Reading
6/21

Group member: Diana (individually)

12:59:00 1. Task begins. Teacher calls on student to read. Student starts to read as soon as she gets to the table. Teacher offers to help with difficult words.

13:00:38 2. (Interruption)

13:01:55 3. Task ends with teacher saying, "okay."

01:56 4. Task begins. Teacher now asks student what she has been reading about. Student gives some answers but teacher is not satisfied with them. Teacher asks her if she practiced the reading. Student shakes her head, no.

03:19 5. End of task with teacher saying, "muy bien." Student takes book and leaves.

LOW GROUP

Tape 18
Spanish Reading
6/21

Group member: Alberto (individually)

13:03:36 1. Task begins. Student brings his book over and teacher praises him for having read so many extra pages. She then explains that he is to read the story and pay attention because he will have to tell her what the story was about. Student reads.

5:48 2. (Interruption)

6:01 3. Task continues.

6:46 4. Task ends.

6:47 5. (Interruption)

6:58 6. Task change. Teacher now asks student questions based on the story he has just read. He answers the questions pretty well.

7:18 7. End of task. Teacher says, "muy bien." (Teacher nodding with approval).

7:33 8. Task change. Teacher has him read next story. Student has more difficulty reading this story and gets a lot of help from the teacher.

9:29 9. End of task. Teacher tells him how well he did. (Inflecting the words very well)

10:02 10. Task change. Teacher now asks him questions about the story. He answers them very well.

10:58 11. Task ends with teacher saying, "muy bien."

12. Teacher now gives student the assignment on a handout sheet and also gives him examples of what it is he is to do (she writes them) and she also modifies the amount of work that he is to do.

14:41 13. End of session

HIGH GROUP

First Hour
English Reading
3/15

00:00:00 1. Getting organized.

2. Tape starts with lesson under way (four children are present)

3. Denis is explaining the lessons to the children. This is the work that the children came to the session with.

4. (Group interrupted)

5. (Teacher is distracted by activities across the room)

00:03:00 6. Children are asked to identify words shown to them on a card - turn-taking.

7. Task is introduced by Denis going to the material and showing the cards to the group.

(What question) 8. "Couldn't." "What does couldn't stand for?" "Contraction."

00:04:29 9. (Teacher distracted by other child in the room - children look around).

(Why question) 10. Why is the word capitalized?

(What is) 11. What is isn't?

05:34:00 12. Group is asked to identify the word shown on the card collectively - same cards.

00:06:13 13. Children are asked to read from the chart shown to them by the teacher - turn-taking.

14. Task change introduced by Denis going to the material (children reading very ~~good~~ well).

00:07:10:5 (What question) 15. Children are asked, "what could you say instead of could not?

16. Children responded, "couldn't."

07:38 17. (Group interrupted)

07:47 18. Denis goes to the board and writes. Children are asked to take two word written on the board and make one word out of the two. They are asked to take the beginning sound of the two words and make another word using both the sounds - Boy and Each becomes beach.

High group (Continued)
First Hour
English Reading
3/15

19. The children are right on task with "beach."

20. Each child is asked to do one - they bid by raising hand.

09:49 21. (Group interrupted)

10:16 22. (Group interrupted)

23. The children are making up their (I'm not sure if they are matching) own words.

11:41 24. Task change. Teacher reads sentences and then asks the children what has happened, who did it, where it happened.

25. "Mary played on the playground after lunch."

26. Where did she play? Children raise their hands and anwer question.

14:05:2 27. Task change. Children are asked to read from their workbooks.

28. Task change is introduced by each saying (one child reads a book).

15:40 29. (Actually get started)

18:42 30. (Group distracted by other activities in the room)

19:00 31. (Group distracted by other activities)

19:44:5 32. Task ended. Children are given next assignment. Lesson explained in detail. (worksheets and workbooks)

HIGH GROUP

Second Hour
English Reading
3/15

00:21:19 1. Getting organized.

2. Assignment is being collected. (four children are present)

3. (Group is interrupted)

4. Denis is going over the work with the children.

23:59 5. Task begins.

6. Teacher asks who is standing in the corner. Individual child raises his hand and replies, "a policeman." This was designed to be recall but the children did get a chance to read it during the last lesson.

0:24:58 7. Task change. Children are asked to read from their work book.

8. Task is introduced by teacher calling on one of the children. This is the lesson that the children are distracted by other children.

9. The children are reading about a mad girl and a happy girl. Denis is asked if he has any mad days.

10. Children respond. (Language practice as well as reading)

30:00:00 11. Task change. Teacher reads words and asks the children to tell him the begining sounds and then the end sound. Individual child responds and the next child is asked.

12. (Group interrupted)

00:31:52 13. Task change. Teacher read a sentence and then asked the children to tell him what pronoun takes the place of the noun in the sentence. Turn-taking.

13. Denis asks if the children remember what a pronoun was. They respond first incorrectly but then correctly.

14. Example: "Steve and Mary made some cookies."

00:00 15. "The cookie was good." Responses: "It was good."

High Group (Continued)
Second Hour
English Reading
3/15

00:33:49 16. Task change. Teacher writes words on the board and the children are asked to go up and circle the root words.

17. Denis asks them to see if they can remember the rule he gave them about these types of words.

18. Children have some trouble so Denis goes over the rule. "You have a basic word and then you add something onto it.

19. Child goes to the board.

37:21:0 20. Task change. Teacher writes on the board and asks the children to cross out the word that doesn't belong in the sentence.

21. (Group is distracted)

22. "Jill is blank, where are you hiding.

00:39:2 23. Tape ends but lesson appears just about over.

HIGH GROUP

Third Hour
English Reading
3/15

00:38:47:2	1.	Getting organized. (four children are present)
00:38:59	2.	Task begins.
	3.	Children are reading from their work books. Turn-taking.
00:41:55	4.	Task change. Children are asked to write the word of the picture and the sounds in it (need the actual book to determine what the task is).
	5.	It is some kind of fill in the number task.
00:43:34	6.	Children are asked to read from the card shown to them by the teacher. (Children are reading good)
	7.	What did Jack do with his ax?
00:45:29	8.	Task change. Children are asked to turn to page 38 and to read a story. Each child reads in turn.
00:47:18	9.	(Group is distracted by activities in the room)
00:51:44	10.	Task change. Teacher reads words and ask children to give him the opposite words (antonyms). Turn-taking.
00:55:06	11.	Teacher explains. Teacher reads words and then asks for the vowel. "Egg", "E." Is it short or long?
00:55;35	12.	(Group is disrupted)
00:57:00	13.	Task ends.

MIDDLE GROUP

First Hour
English Reading

Children: Alberto, Marcos, Jorge, Esperanza,
Pati, Ernesto, Eva, Oscar

00:00:0 1. Children are asked to read aloud from the book. (There are nine children present)

00:01:47 2. Children are required to go to the board and identify the sounds of the words on the board.

3. Task change is introduced by the teacher telling the children to put their books down and going to the board.

4. Children raise their hands to bid to answer.

04:35 5. (Code switching) directions.

04:51:0 6. Teacher reads words to the group and they are asked to raise their hands if they hear an S sound in the word.

7. Task is introduced by the teacher saying, "okay," and then giving clear directions, he also brings his hands to his face.

8. (Group is interrupted)

6:23:3 9. Children are asked to match words that have been written on the board. They are called on individually to match capital with the small then asked to give the word.

10. Task change is introduced by the teacher saying, "alright," and then going to the board to write out the new task.

11. The children who are seated help the child who goes to the board.

12. It does not seem that all the children got a chance, but it is a large group.

10:14:5 13. Children are asked to go up to the board and cross out the word given them by the teacher.

14. Task change introduced by the teacher going to the board and telling the children or giving them directions about the new task.

Middle Group (Continued)
First Hour
English reading

15. Children are called on individually to go to the board.

13:36:6 16. Lesson ends with the children given explicit explanations regarding their new assignment.

MIDDLE GROUP

Second Hour
English Reading

18:00 1. Getting organized.

19:30 2. Children are asked to read a word from flashcards shown by the teacher. Children take turns reading. They perform the task without difficulty.

21:18 3. Teacher instructs children to read one line each from a cardboard he holds up. Children take turns reading aloud.

22:26 4. Teacher reads individual words and children are asked to hold up their hands when they hear a word that begins with the "M" sound.

23:38 5. Teacher writes words on the board and the children are asked to connect different words to create a compound word (e.g. school + bus = schoolbus.

26:20 6. Teacher reads a sentence and children have to indicate words that rhyme in the sentence.

27:30 7. Teacher asks individual child to make words that end in "at" using a letter written on board (e.g. C _ _. (cat)).
Children raise hands to bid for opportunity to answer.

30:00 8. Children take turns reading aloud from their reader and answer brief questions in book about the sentence they read. Some of the children decode with some hesitation, but otherwise ok.

35:40 9. Lesson ends; teacher gives the students their new reading assignment.

MIDDLE GROUP

Third Hour
English Reading

36:04 1. Lesson has started; children have to identify words in their workbook that has a "K" in them. Children bid for a chance to answer or teacher selects.

37:29 2. Children now have to identify "eh" sound. Teacher directs lesson by reading words and having children answer yes or no.

38:41 3. Provides assignment for tomorrow to identify "J" sound. Also gives detailed instructions of "eh" vowel sound.

39:20 4. Getting reading for next task. Kids put away pencils and worksheets.

40:42 5. Teacher shows large sheets with sentences written. Children take turns reading a sentence. Some decode with difficulty. Teacher provides help in pronouncing words.

44:35 6. Teacher puts away sheets and opens textbook. He reads questions about the story. Students are selected or bid to answer.
(e.g. T: Where did they have birds?
S: On the boat.)

Questions are directly related to the Storyline. (Some of the students dismissed for reading Lab.)

45:56 7. Children instructed to turn to page 76 in Text. Children take turns reading aloud about the story about the boat.
Teacher intervenes to correct pronounciation, misreadings, etc.

54:02 8. Teacher explains the task they'll do next. They have to pluralize words.
(e.g. T: One boat.
S: Many boat.)

9. Teacher illustrates changes in words on the board.

55:25 10. Teacher now requests the children to state the antonyms to words he utters.
(e.g., slow, fast)

56:26 11. Teacher changes task and requests words that rhyme.

Middle Group (Continued)
Third Hour
English Reading

57:56 12. Teacher explains next assignment for the group and the lesson ends.

MIDDLE GROUP

Fourth Hour
English Reading

00:00:0 1. Getting organized - children are called together.

2. Teacher is collecting assignments.

2:35 3. Children have to identify words that contain "J" sound. Teacher utters word, children, as assigned by teacher state yes or no.

Task becomes a group task with all of the kids answering yes or no.

3:35 4. Vowel sounds - children have to identify words that contain same vowel sound. (Book task). Children take turns answering. Teacher provides help and guidance.

5:30 5. Teacher explains next assignment and provides examples.

7:47 6. Children are shown word cards and are asked to read words and identify sound - letter correspondence.

11:00 7. Decoding task. Teacher switches to large sheets with sentences and the children take turns reading one sentence each. Teacher intervenes to correct pronounciation mistakes and so on.

13:22 8. Teacher changes task. Selects a text and reads sentences that have one word missing to the children. Their task is to fill in the appropriate word.

(e.g. T: Molly and her father walked all the ______ down the street.

C: (Children raise hands or bid to answer)

T: Patty?

C: On the street

T: On the street down the street. Eva?

C: They walked all the ______.

T: (Other kids bid).

C: All the way.

T: All the way down the street.)

Middle Group (Continued)
Fourth Hour
English Reading

15:57 9. Teacher changes task. He reads words and children have to identify beginning sound.

16.43 10. Lesson ends. New group must start their lesson time.

LOW GROUP I

First Hour
English Reading
3/16

00:00:00 1. Getting organized. (four children are present)

2. Teacher is asking children to turn something in. Two children have not completed the task and their names are placed on the board to finish the task during lunch.

3. Juan and Maria work during lunch. There are seven children present. (Some code switching)

01: 4. Children on the other side of the room are distracting and teacher telss them to sit down and get to work.

01:06:7 5. Task begins. Individual child is called on to read to the group.

6. Task is introduced by the teacher going for the book from a desk, sitting down and saying, "all right, page 88," and then asks one of the children to read. Giving directions as to how far he wants the child to read, "between the black lines."

7. (Group helps out people having trouble)

8. The task is to read the sentence and fill in the missing word from words given in the book. I am Cat and the child gives the letter of the word or tells the teacher if the missing word is on the top, in the middle, or on the bottom.

9. Child's hat is removed by the teacher.

10. Teacher goes to the board to help child with a word.

03:56:4 11. Task change. Individual child is asked to identify a word shown to them by the teacher. And give the sound ah, ah.

12. Task is introduced by the teacher going to the cards and saying, "okay, let's start the other end," and calls the child's name. He also leans forward as he shows the child the card. The child is asked to identify the sound.

13. One child is asked to pay attention. That's the child who earlier had his hat taken off by the teacher.

Low Group (Continued)
First Hour
3/16

14. Teacher gives a lot of instructions as he goes along.

05:43:2 15. Task change: Or task ends with the children given another assignment to read 92-96. Children did not finish with the task but were told that they were all doing so good that they did not have to finish.

LOW GROUP I

Second Hour
English Reading
3/19

00:00:00 1. Getting organized. (four children are present)

2. Teacher collects work that the children were supposed to do between them. Two children did not finish. Teacher talks to other children in the room about getting to work.

02:17:00 3. Task begins. Individual child is asked to read between the lines.

4. Task is introduced by the teacher going to the material and telling the children to turn to page 92 and then calls on one child giving him directions.

5. Teacher writes something on the board, and is distracted by something going on across the room.

3:03 6. Teacher goes to the board and asks the group what the sound of C is to help the child get started that he has called on. (not a lot of help is given)

7. Child does not read or finish and the next child is called on.

8. Child is asked to take off his hat, and it is taken from him by the teacher.

7:09 9. Child not following reads what has been read by the child before him and is told that.

7:11 10. "Let's read the words, let's not make up something that goes with the picture."

11. Teacher goes to the board to make a point or to do the phonetic explanation.

10:41:0 12. Session ends with the teacher giving the children their next lesson.

LOW GROUP I

Third Hour
English Reading
6/19

00:00:00 1. Getting organized.

2. Tape already begins with a task being done by the children.

3. Task begins. Children are shown a card and asked to identify it and give the letter that the word starts with or the sound that it starts with.

4. Task is introduced with materials.

5. The children are asked to give the sound of the word and each child gets a turn.

6. Teacher goes to the board to write something down.

7. Teacher goes to the board.

04:26:5 8. Task change. Children are asked to read from the book the task being to fill in the right word.

9. Task change is introduced by the teacher ending the previous task by saying, "okay, let's open your books to page 109," then going to his book and calling on one of the children to read. "Okay, alright let's start with Hernandez."

10:42:4 10. Child joins the group late.

11. Child tells the group that they did not do something on the other page. Which calls attention to the fact that a couple of the kids have different books.

16:49:9 12. Teacher asks one of the other children to help one of the children.

18:06:8 13. Task ends. Children are given their next assignment 118-120.

LOW GROUP II

First Hour
English Reading
3/15

01:16:0 1. Getting organized.

2. Teacher separates two of the children who arive first in the group. (There are five children in the group)

3. Teacher collects work that the children were supposed to be doing. Two children or one child has not done the work.

03:05:6 4. Task begins. Children are asked to read, and put in the missing word.

5. Task change introduced by the teacher telling the children to turn to page 93 and going to his book. Teacher then calls on (?) one of the children to read aloud.

6. Children are told not to help the child that is struggling with the lesson.

7. Child reads the previous reading.

05:44:7 8. (Group is interrupted by a girl and is distracted by activity across the room).

9. (The group is interrupted again).

10. Child is helped by the child next to him.

11. They look at the picture.

08:50:0 12. (Group is interrupted by a girl and the teacher is distracted by something going on across the room).

13. Lesson ends with the teacher turning to the board and saying, "alright."

LOW GROUP II

Second Hour
English Reading
3/16

00:00:0 1. Getting organized. (seven children in the group)

02:03:7 2. Task begins. A group of sounds are written on the board and the teacher makes the sound and then asks one of the children to pick out the sound from the board. The children raise hands and are asked to give the letters.

3. The task is introduced by the teacher saying, "alright," moving from the board where he has written something down and then sitting down. He points to the board and gives directions about what he wants the children to do.

4. At first the children raise their hands and are chosen by the teacher or one child is chosen by the teacher. But then the teacher calls on Maria to go to the board. After that the children raise their hands and are chosen from the group.

04:11:4 5. Task change. Teacher reads a word and asks the children to give the beginning letter.

6. Task change is introduced by the teacher going to the clip board, rises up, leans down and gives clear instructions about the next task.

7. Teacher goes right down the line from front to back.

05:08:5 8. Task change. The children are asked to tell the teacher what the words end with.

9. Task change is introduced by the teacher, pausing, leaning forward and giving instructions to the children about what he wants them to do.

10. He begins with Maria, but does she complete the task?

06:05:5 11. Task change. The children are asked to read and fill in the missing word.

12. Task is introduced by the teacher saying, "okay," turning toward the materials and giving the page number, rising up, leaning forward and calling on one of the children and giving clear instructions

Low Group II (Continued)
Second Hour
English Reading
3/16

about what he wants them to do.

13. Teacher is distracted by something across the room.

14. The task is changed a little bit.

15. Teacher goes to the board to illustrate.

16. Task varies here. Some children are asked to give the letter.

12:48:3 17. Task change. Teacher reads a sentence and the children respond out loud by giving the correct answer.

18. Task change is introduced by the teacher ending the previous task with, "okay," looking down at the bock, putting his hand to his face and then giving clear instructions about what the new task is.

19. Children do not answer as quickly and then the change comes.

13:24:5 20. Task change. Individual child is called upon to give the answer.

21. Task change is introduced by the teacher calling out the child's name.

13:31:8 22. Task change. The group is asked to respond out loud.

23. Task change is introduced by the teacher turning the page and reading the sentence.

24. Maria is told to follow along.

15:11:5 25. Task change. Individual child is asked to tell the teacher what the missing word is by giving him the letter.

26. Task is introduced by the teacher calling the child's name.

27. It looks like he is calling on the child to keep her on the task.

28. Task change. Session ends with the children getting a work assignment.

LOW GROUP II

Third Hour
English Reading
6/18

00:00:0 1. Getting organized.

2. Group is called up to the front of the room. There are only three children in the group. There may be some code switching. There is code switching by the children as they look over the lesson.

02:26:7 3. Task begins. Children are asked to read the sentence and fill in the missing word.

4. Task is interoduced by the teacher saying, "alright," going to the material that he has in his hand and calling on one of the children to read.

5. Child is sent back to get cover for his book.

6. One child helps another find his place to take a reading turn.

7. Children get a lot of help from the teacher.

08:31:3 8. Task change. The children are asked to give the sound of the word given by the teacher. If they hear two letters in the sound they are to tell the teacher.

9. Task change is introduced by the teacher saying, "okay, let's your books for now." Then gives the next or instructions for the next task.

10:35:2 10. Group or session ends with the teacher giving the children their next assignments.

LOW GROUP II

Fourth Hour
English Reading
6/19

00:00:0 1. Getting organized.

2. There are four children in the group. Children have been asked to get their books out.

01:58:6 3. Children are required to read from the book.

4. Task change is introduced by the teacher going to the book and telling the children to turn to the back and then asking or calling on a child to read.

03:30:1 5. Task change. Teacher moves to get material.

6. Task change is introduced by the teacher saying, "okay," and asking for their books. Materials are passed out to the children.

04:37:8 7. Task change. Children are shown a card with a word on it and asked to say what the word is.

8. Task is introduced by the teacher going to the material and giving instructions.

06:49:1 9. Task change. Children are asked to read a sentence shown to them by the teacher.

10. Task change is introduced by the teacher going to the new material and saying, "okay," then giving directions for the new task.

11. One child is asked to read.

07:10:7 12. Task ends. (Code switching).

13. Session ends with the teacher explaining what he wants the children to do on their next lesson they are given the new material.

11:26:9 14. Session ends.

TABLE 1

Initial Segmentation of Lesson
(Low Group)

00:00:0	1.	Getting organized. (There are six children present)
		(Group interrupted)
01:32:0	2.	Task begins as children are required to repeat a sentence given them by the teacher. Tasks get introduced by teacher saying,"okay," and leaning forward over the material (book) and giving the group the first sentence. "There are balls in the box."
		(Child comes in late)
01:57:3	3.	Task is changed with a child being asked to make a sentence generated by the previous task. "Do you have a dog?"
		(Child comes in late)
02:12:0	4.	Task change is introduced as children are required to repeat the sentence given them by the teacher.
03:00:1	5.	Task change is introduced by the teacher ending the previous task by saying, "okay," dropping her voice when saying, "okay," again, turning to the materials (book) leaning back and then coming forward.

TABLE 2

Identification of Participation Structures

(1 min. 3 sec.)	1.	*Individual* child is asked to construct a sentence generated from the previous task.
(0 min. 29 sec.)	2.	*Group* is required to repeat the sentence given them by the teacher.
(0 min. 10 sec.)	3.	*Individual* child is asked to construct a sentence generated from the previous task.
(0 min. 21 sec.)	4.	*Group* is asked to repeat sentences viven them by the teacher.
(0 min. 19 sec.)	5.	*Individual* child is asked to construct a sentence generated from the previous task.
(0 min. 27 sec.)	6.	*Group* is asked to repeat the sentence given them by the teacher.
(0 min. 53 sec.)	7.	*Individual* child is asked to recall the sentence from previous task.
(0 min. 35 sec.)	8.	*Group* is required to repeat sentences given them by the teacher.
(0 min. 30 sec.)	9.	*Individual* child is asked to recall the sentence from the previous task.
(1 min. 15 sec.)	10.	*Group* is asked to repeat sentence given them by the teacher.
(10 min. 00 sec.)	11.	*Individual* child is asked to identify a picture on the card. If done correctly the child is given the card.

TABLE 3

Spanish Classroom
Frequency and Percentage of Teacher-Initiated Sequences

Teacher-Initiated Sequences	Frequency	Percentage
Directives	96	17.8
Informatives	155	28.7
Elicitations	276	51.1
Other	13	2.4
Total	540	100.0

TABLE 4

Spanish Classroom
Types of Elicitations Across Ability Groups
(Frequency and Percentage)

Ability Group	Choice		Product		Process		MetaProcess		Totals	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
High	14	16.1	48	55.2	21	24.1	4	4.6	87	31.5
Middle	40	33.6	60	50.4	19	16.0	--	--	119	43.1
Low	14	20.0	46	65.7	10	14.3	--	--	70	25.4
Totals	68	24.6	154	55.8	50	18.1	4	1.5	276	100.0

TABLE 5

Spanish Classroom
Correct Responses to Elicitations Across Ability Groups
(Frequency and Percentage)

Ability Group	Choice		Product		Process		MetaProcess		Totals	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
High	7	50.0	27	56.3	11	52.4	2	50.0	47	54.0
Middle	24	60.0	48	80.0	4	21.0	--	--	76	63.9
Low	9	64.3	28	60.9	3	30.0	--	--	40	57.1
Totals	40	58.8	103	66.9	18	36.0	2	50.0	163	59.1

TABLE 6

English Classroom
Frequency and Percentage of Teacher-Initiated Sequences

Teacher-Initiated Sequences	Frequency	Percentage
Directives	448	34.6
Informatives	215	16.6
Elicitations	589	45.6
Other	41	3.2
Total	1,293	100.0

TABLE 7

English Classroom
Types of Elicitations Across Ability Groups
(Frequency and Percentage)

Ability Group	Choice		Product		Process		MetaProcess		Totals	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
High *	14	9.0	139	89.7	2	1.3	--	--	155	26.3
Middle	57	29.1	137	69.9	--	--	2	1.0	196	33.3
Low	16	6.7	222	93.3	--	--	--	--	238	40.4
Totals	87	14.8	498	84.6	2	.3	2	.3	589	100.0

* Missing data for one lesson.

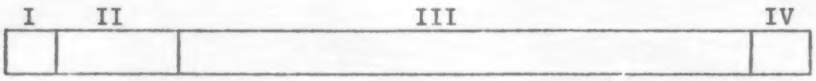
TABLE 8

English Classroom
Correct Responses to Elicitations Across Ability Groups
(Frequency and Percentage)

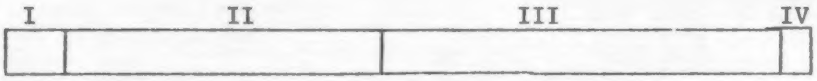
Ability Group	Choice		Product		Process		MetaProcess		Totals	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
High	13	92.9	118	84.9	2	100.0	6	--	133	85.8
Middle	50	87.7	119	85.6	--	--	2	100.0	171	87.2
Low	13	81.3	156	70.8	--	--	--	--	169	71.0
Totals	76	87.4	393	78.9	2	100.0	2	100.0	473	80.3

FIGURE I

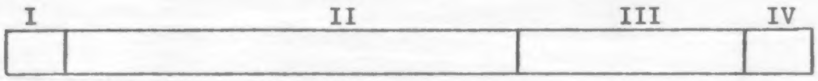
I. Getting Organized
II. Decoding
III. Reading Comprehension
IV. Closing



High Group



Middle Group



Low Group

Spanish Classroom
Variations in Lesson Phases

FIGURE 2

Spanish Classroom
Relative Frequency of Teacher Talk
Ability Groups Across Time
(Directives, Informatives, & Elicitations)

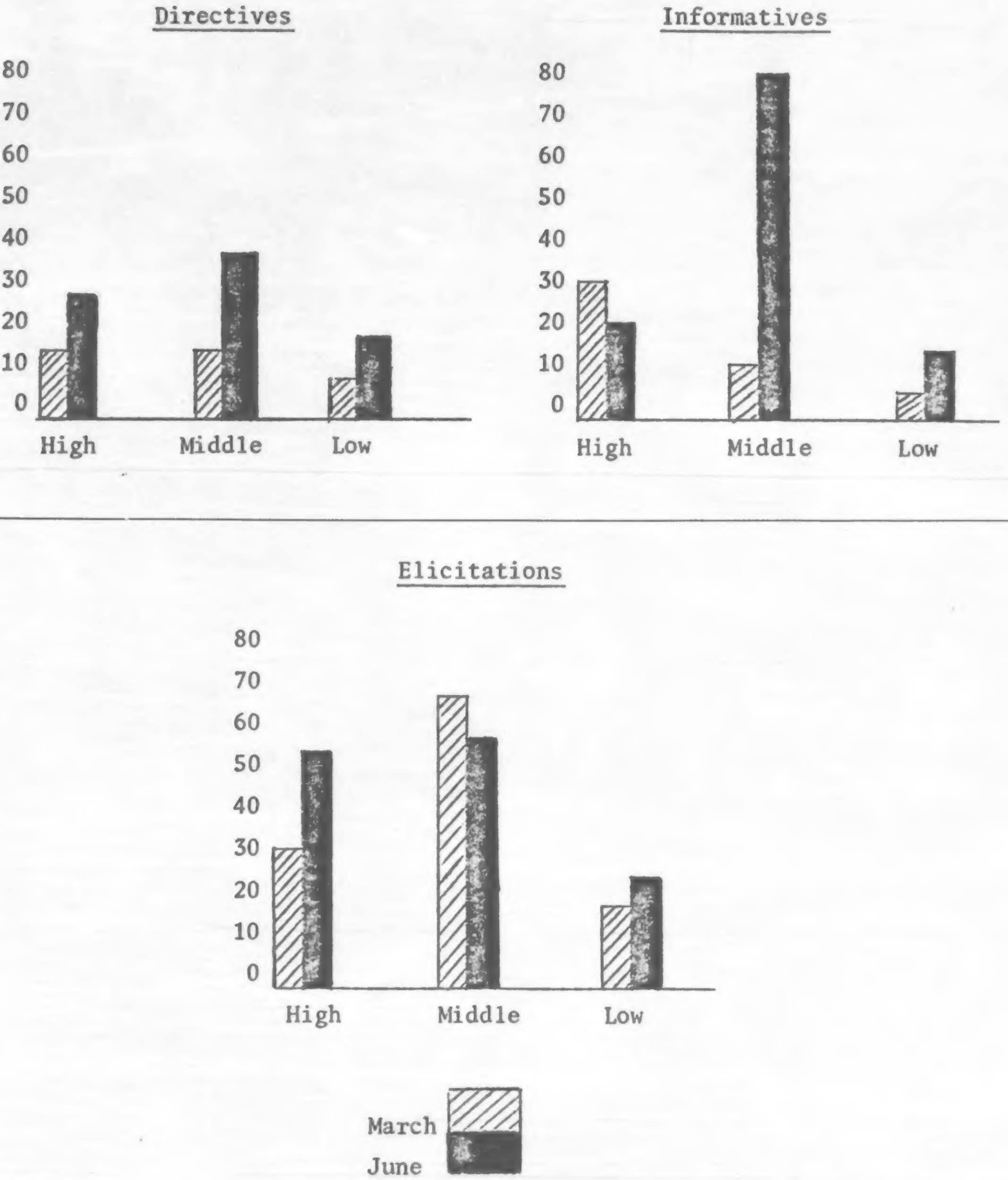
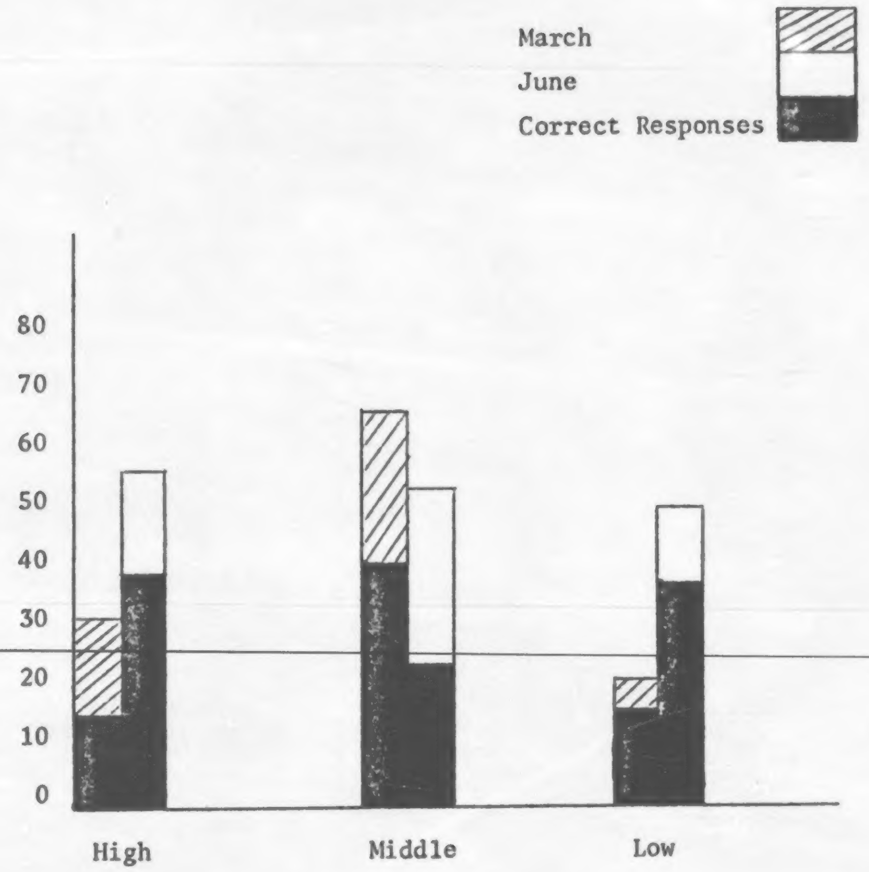


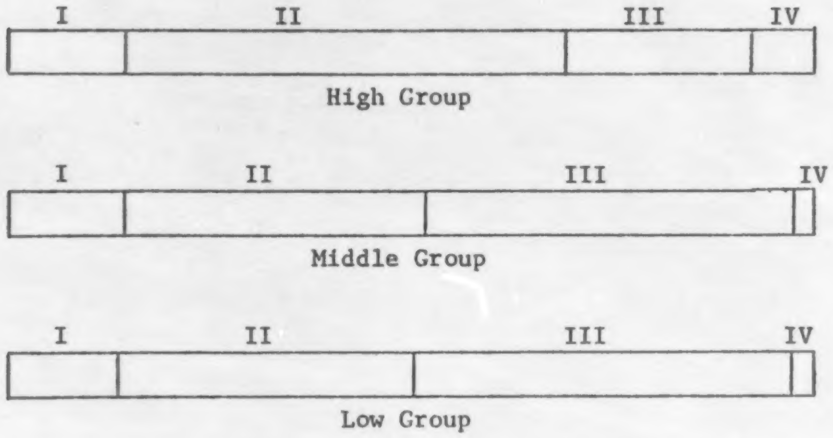
FIGURE 3



Spanish Classroom
Frequency of Elicitations and Correct Responses
Across Time

FIGURE 4

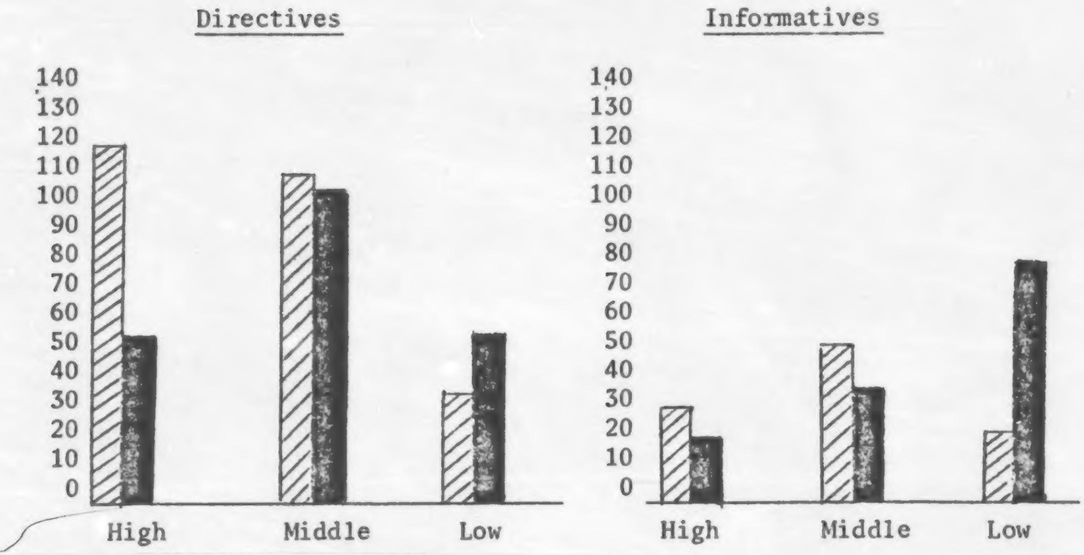
I. Getting Organized
II. Decoding
III. Word Sounds/Grammar
IV. Reading Comprehension



English Classroom
Variations in Lesson Phases

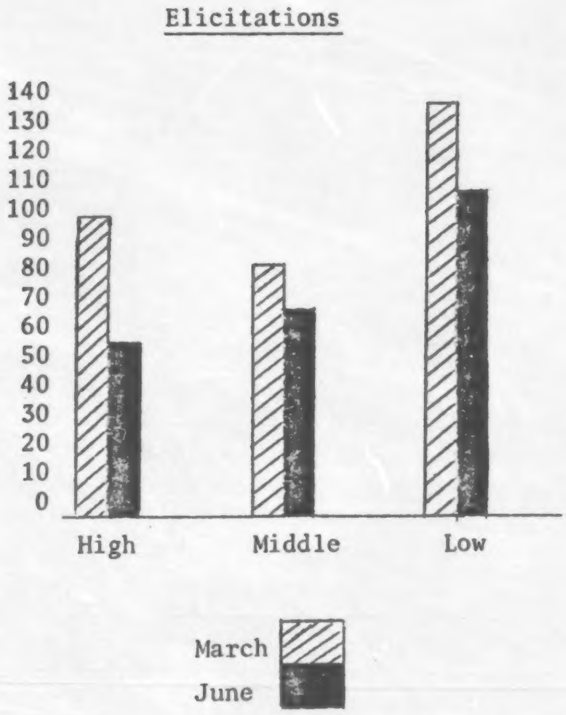
FIGURE 5

English Classroom
Relative Frequency of Teacher Talk
Ability Groups Across Time
(Directives, Informatives, & Elicitations)



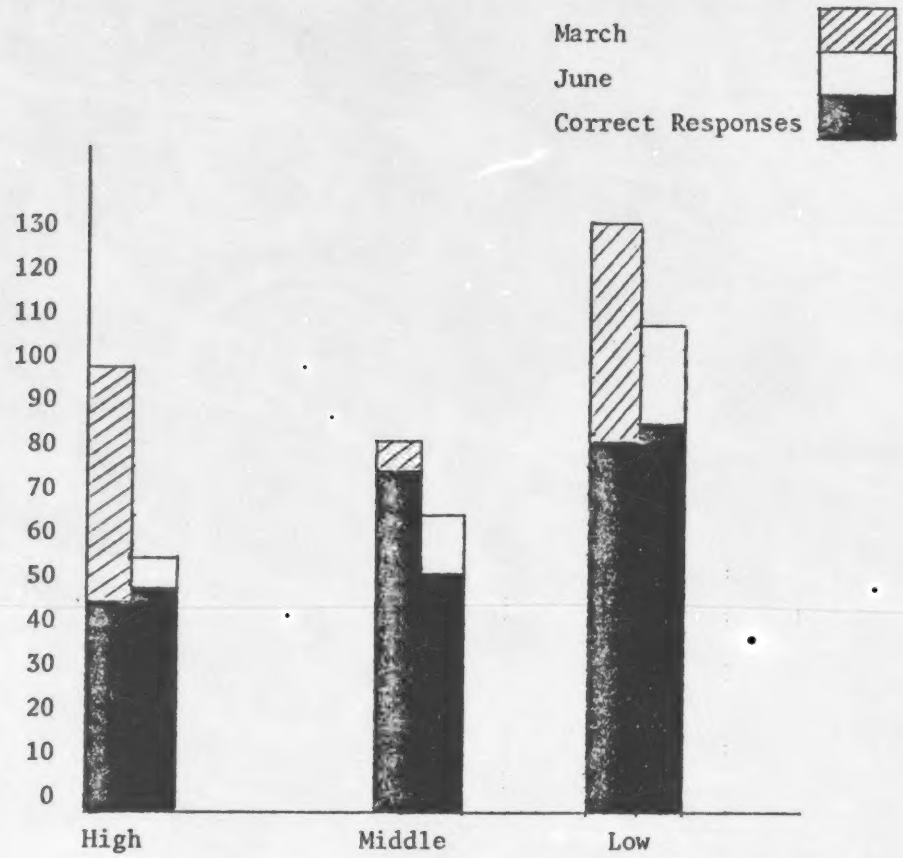
Directives

Informatives



Elicitations

FIGURE 6



English Classroom
Frequency of Elicitations and Correct Responses
Across Time